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A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SIEGE OF THE ALAMO AND OF THE PERSONNEL OF ITS DEFENDERS

AMELIA WILLIAMS

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE ALAMO

1. The Total Number of Inmates of the Alamo

There are many historical problems growing out of the siege and fall of the Alamo, some of which cannot be definitely settled. It is the purpose of this chapter, however, to discuss those problems and to present such solutions of them as I have more or less tentatively arrived at.

How many Texans[1] were in the Alamo, and how many died there? Authorities vary in their attempt to answer this question, some putting the number of persons at the Alamo as low as 150; others report more than 200. This discrepancy is due largely, I think, to differences in interpreting Travis's reports. Those who give the low numbers always cite Travis's letters as proof of their statements; but in his reports from the Alamo after February 23, Travis counted only well men, men upon whom he could depend for effective service. At no time after the siege of San Antonio in December, 1835, were there fewer than twenty or thirty sick and wounded men in the hospital of

[1]Under the term *Texans*, I include all who were in the fortress—Anglo-Americans, Mexicans, men, women, and children.

the Alamo.[2] Dr. Amos Pollard sent to the Council, on December 28, 1835, the names of twenty-two who had been wounded at the taking of Bexar.[3] Five of that twenty-two—all reported by Pollard as having been severely wounded—are on the roll of 187 victims that I have verified by reliable documents. Those men were probably never fit for service during the siege of March, 1836. Moreover, in all the letters from Pollard to Smith[4] he writes of the numerous sick soldiers and of how busy he is attending them. One suspects that a good deal of this distress was bluster on Pollard's part to magnify his service, but the fact remains that there were in all probability more than twenty sick men at the Alamo. Travis never mentioned even Bowie after he had fallen ill of pneumonia, and after a little thought one is convinced that it was a wise policy for him not to mention any of his disabled men in his reports, but in estimating the number of persons at the fort, they must be considered.

There were also twenty or thirty non-combatants, citizens of Bexar—men, women, and children—who had taken refuge in the Alamo upon the arrival of the Mexican army. Some of those frightened Mexicans left before the final assault, but the majority were there to the end. In fact, my study of this problem leads to the opinion that there were some 215 or 220 persons in the fortress on the morning of March 6, 1836. Between 185 and 200 of this number were soldiers, the others were the non-combatants. If we remember, however, that Travis counted only efficient fighting men, it will be clearly seen that this estimate does not conflict with his reports. Before the arrival of the thirty-two from Gonzales on March 1, there were probably never more than 145 or 150 men at the Alamo who were fit for service.

[2]"Jesse Bedgett's Account of the Alamo Massacre," *The Arkansas Advocate* (Little Rock), April 15, 1836; James T. DeShields (ed.), "John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News*, February 3, 1911; John N. Seguin, *Memoirs*, Archives of the University of Texas; *Memorial* No. 131, Archives of the State Department of Texas.

It may be well to state here that since this study was made the *Memorials*, formerly in the State Department, have been transferred to the State Library. They are now filed alphabetically, but any document cited in this study can be easily found if one should wish to see it.

[3]Amos Pollard to Governor Smith and the Council, December 28, 1835, *Army Papers*, Texas State Library.

[4]There are several letters from Pollard to Smith among the *Army Papers*.

2. Roster of the Victims

Travis never made a complete return to the Texan government of his forces at the Alamo,[5] whatever muster-rolls he may have used in his command of the fort were apparently destroyed by the Mexicans after they took possession of it. The roster of the Alamo dead, therefore, must necessarily be a reconstruction. Many attempts have been made to compile it, but no complete or accurate roll has ever been made, probably no absolutely accurate roster of those brave men will ever be made; however, the list of 187 names which follows, compiled from an exhaustive study of all available sources, is, I believe, as nearly complete and accurate as it is possible to make it. In addition to this verified list, I present two lists. One is a list of five names of men who *probably* died at the Alamo, the other, of six names, is of men who *possibly* died there.[6] There is some evidence that these ten men died at the Alamo, but it is not sufficiently clear to justify my putting them on the verified roll.

a. Victims of the Alamo Massacre Verified by Reliable Documents

Abamillo, Juan
Allen, R.
Andross, Miles DeForest
Autry, Micajah

Badillo, Juan Antonio
Bailey, Peter James
Baker, Isaac G.
Baker, William Charles M.
Ballentine, John J.
Ballentine, Robert W.
Baugh, John J.
Bayliss, Joseph
Blair, John
Blair, Samuel C.
Blazeby, William
Bonham, James Butler
Bowie, James
Bowman, Jesse B.
Bourne, Daniel
Brown, George
Brown, James
Brown, Robert (?)
Buchanan, James
Burns, Samuel E.
Butler, George D.

Campbell, Robert
Cane (Cain), John
Carey, William R.
Clark, Charles H.
Cloud, Daniel William
Cochran(e), Robert
Cottle, George Washington
Courtman, Henry
Crawford, Lemuel
Crockett, David
Crossman, Robert
Cummings, David P.
Cunningham, Robert

Damon (Daymon), Squire

[5]This statement is verified by the fact that after the fall of the Alamo, the government was unable to produce a muster roll of the victims, so various interested persons began trying to compile one. See William Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, 138; also, the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 24, 1836. Travis's neglect to make a return of his men to the government was probably due to the chaotic condition of that government, and to the fact that, prior to the beginning of the siege, the command at the Alamo was a dual one.

[6]Chapter V repeats these rolls with annotations and with a description of the principal documents used. I also describe my method of handling the documents.

Darst (Durst, Dust), Jacob C.
Davis, John
Day, Freeman H. R.
Day, Jerry C.
Dearduff, William
Dennison, Stephen
Despallier, Charles
Dickerson, Almaron
Dillard, John H.
Dimkins, James R.
Dover, Sherod J.
Duel (Dewell), Lewis
Duvalt (Devault), Andrew

Espalier, Carlos
Esparza, Gregorio
Evans, Robert
Evans, Samuel B.
Ewing, James L.

Fishbaugh (Fishback), William
Flanders, John
Floyd, Dolphin (Ward)
Forsyth, John Hubbard
Fuentes, Antonio
Fuqua, Galba
Furtleroy, William H.

Garnett, William
Garrand, James W.
Garrett, James Girard
Garvin, John E.
Gaston, John E.
George, James
Goodrich, John Calvin
Grimes, Albert (Alfred) Calvin
Guerrero, Jose Maria
Gwin (Gwynne) James C.

Hannum, James
Harris, John
Harrison, Andrew Jackson
Harrison, William B.
Haskell (Heiskill), Charles M.
Hawkins, Joseph (M.)
Hendricks, Thomas
Herndon, Patrick Henry
Hersee (Hersey), William
Holland, Tapley
Holloway, Samuel
Howell, William D.

Jackson, William Daniel
Jackson, Thomas
Jameson, Green B.
Jennings, Gordon C.
Johnson, Lewis
Johnson, William
Jones, John

Kellogg, Johnnie
Kenney, James
Kent, Andrew
Kerr, Joseph
Kimbell, George C.
King, John G.
King, William P.

Lewis, William Irvine
Lightfoot, William J.
Lindley, Jonathan L.
Linn, William
Losoya, Toribio D.

Main, George Washington
Malone, William T.
Marshall, William
Martin, Albert
McCafferty, Edward
McCoy, Jesse
McDowell, William
McGee (McGhee), James
McGregor, John
McKinney, Robert
Melton, Eliel
Miller, Thomas R.
Mills, William
Millsaps, Isaac
Mitchasson, Edward F.
Mitchell, Edwin T.
Mitchell, Napoleon B.
Moore, Robert B.
Moore, Willis A.
Musselman, Robert

Nava, Andres
Neggan, George
Nelson, Andrew M.
Nelson, Edward
Nelson, George
Northcross, James
Nowlan, James

Pagan, George
Parker, Christopher A.
Parks, William
Perry, Richardson
Pollard, Amos

Reynolds, John Purdy
Robinson, Isaac
Roberts, Thomas H.
Robertson, James
Rose, James M.
Rusk, Jackson J.
Rutherford, Joseph
Ryan, Isaac

Scurlock, Mial
Sewell, Marcus L.
Shied, Manson
Simmons, Clelland (Cleveland) Kinloch
Smith, Andrew H.
Smith, Charles S.
Smith, Joshua G.
Smith, William H.
Starr, Richard
Stewart (Stuart), John W.
Stockton, Richard L.
Summerlin, A. Spain
Summers, William E.
Sutherland, William D.

Taylor, Edward
Taylor, George
Taylor, James
Taylor, William
Thomas, B. Archer M. (B. A. M.)
Thomas, Henry
Thomson, John W.
Thompson, Jesse G.
Thurston, John M.
Trammel, Burke
Travis, William Barret
Tumlinson, George W.

Walker, Asa
Walker, Jacob
Ward, Michael W.
Warnell (Wornel), Henry
Washington, Joseph G.
Waters, Thomas
Wells, William
White, Isaac
White, Robert W.
Williamson, Hiram J.
Wilson, David L.
Wilson, John
Wolfe, Antony
Wright, Clairborne

Zanco, Charles
———, John

b. Men Who Were Probably Alamo Victims

Anderson, George Washington
Burnell, ——(John)?
Kedison, ———
Ingram, ———
Robbins, ———

c. Men Who Were Possibly Alamo Victims

Ayers, ———
George, William
Jackson, John
Olamio, George
Spratt, John
Warner, Thomas S.

3. The Roll of the Gonzales Men

Perhaps the bravest and the most self-sacrificing incident in the defense of the Alamo was the entrance on March 1, of thirty-two men from Gonzales. In answer to Travis's call for help these men, commanded by Captain George C. Kimball and Albert Martin, and guided by John W. Smith, rode to San Antonio and entered the Alamo. They well knew that there was little hope that the Alamo would be strongly reinforced, but they went with the determination to sacrifice their lives, if need be, in order to encourage and strengthen their friends and compatriots. The following list, I think, is a roll of those brave men:

Baker, Isaac
Cane, John
Cottle, George W.
Cummings, David P.
Damon, Squire
Darst, Jacob C.
Davis, John
Dearduff, William
Despallier, Charles
Fishbaugh, William
Flanders, John
Jackson, Thomas
Kellogg, Johnny
Kent, Andrew
Kimball, George C. (Captain)
King, John G.
King, William P.
Lindley, Jonathan
Martin, Albert (Captain)
McCoy, Jesse
Miller, Thomas R.
Millsaps, Isaac
Floyd, Dolphin Ward
Fuqua, Galba
Garvin, John E.
Gaston, John E.
George, James
Neggan, George
Summers, William E.
Tumlinson, George
White, Robert
Wright, Claiborne

It is necessary, now, to explain the process by which this roll of Gonzales men has been reconstructed. It appears from the records at the General Land Office that forty men from Gonzales died at the Alamo. The problem, therefore, was to determine which were the thirty-two who responded to Travis's call and entered the doomed fortress on March 1.

On March 24, 1836, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* published the names of eighteen men from Gonzales who died at the Alamo. The list was obtained from John W. Smith and a Mr. Navan and was as follows:

Captain A. Dickenson	George W. Cottle	Clairborne Wright
George C. Kimball	Andrew Kent	William Fishback
James George	Thomas R. Miller	——— Millsaps
Dolphin Floyd	Isaac Baker	Galby Fuqua
Thomas Jackson	William King	John Davis
Jacob Durst (Darst)	Jesse McCoy	Albert Martin

Miles S. Bennett contributed nine additional names to this list.[7] His additions are as follows:

William Dearduff	Robert White	Charles Despallier
John E. Garvin	Amos Pollard	George Tumlinson
John E. Gaston	John Cane	Johnny Kellogg

By combining the *Telegraph* and the Bennett lists we obtain twenty-seven names. It seems certain, however, that both Pollard and Dickenson were already in the Alamo and that their names do not belong in this list of those who entered on March 1.

It may be argued that Pollard and Dickenson, like Martin, had previously left the Alamo as messengers and returned with the reinforcements. No absolute proof was found to disprove this hypothesis, but there are some stubborn facts against it. Both men were prominent in the political affairs at the Alamo,[8] both held important military positions there, Pollard being the chief surgeon of the fort and Dickenson being master of artillery; moreover, Dickenson had his wife and child in the Alamo. If either or both of these men had gone out as couriers, there would almost certainly have been some mention of the fact. Accordingly, I have eliminated their names from the Telegraph-Bennett list, leaving only twenty-five accepted names.

Deducting these twenty-five names from the roll of the known

[7]Miles S. Bennett, "The Battle of Gonzales," *Texas Historical Quarterly*, II, 313-314. In this article Bennett verifies the record of the Land Office documents by saying that in 1837 he was at a Fourth of July barbecue at Gonzales, and that at that time "the stricken inhabitants were terribly weakened by the slaughter in the Alamo on March 6, 1836, of forty of their men."

Miles S. Bennett was a son of Major Valentine Bennett, one of the first officers commissioned by Stephen F. Austin in 1835. Miles S. Bennett was a contemporary of the times of which he wrote; he was captain of Company E of the Texas Rangers; he was an intelligent man and had the opportunity to know facts concerning Gonzales and Gonzales citizens from both private and official sources.

[8]Amos Pollard to Henry Smith, January 16, and again on February 15, 1836, *Army Papers*, Texas State Library; James T. DeShields (ed.), "John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News*, February 5, 1911.

Gonzales men—established by the Land Office records—we have the following fifteen names remaining:

Daniel Bourne	Andrew Duvalt	Jonathan Lindley
George Brown	John Flanders	George Neggan
David C. Cummings	John Harris	Amos Pollard
Squire Damon	John King	Marcus L. Sewell
Almarion Dickenson	William Lightfoot	William E. Summers

Again eliminating Amos Pollard and Alarmon Dickenson, who, as stated above, were probably already at the Alamo, there remain thirteen names from which to select seven to make up the roll of the famous thirty-two. Now, when Colonel J. C. Neill left the Alamo on February 12, 1836, he made a return of 117 men.[9] On this roll there are ten Gonzales men:

D. Bourne	A. Duvalt	L. Sewell
G. Brown	J. Harriss	Robert White
——— Dearduff	William Lightfoot	
——— Dust (Darst)	Amos Pollard	

Of these names Dearduff, Dust (Darst) and White are on the Telegraph-Bennett list of accepted names, so they must have gone home and come back on March 1, since they are mentioned. Pollard, as I have explained, was already at the Alamo. Were not Duvalt, Harriss, Lightfoot, Sewell, Bourne, and Brown there, too? They died at the Alamo. They were on Neill's report, and are not mentioned as going out or coming in, therefore they probably staid in.

The remaining Gonzales men were:

David P. Cummings	Jonathan Lindley	John G. King
Squire Damon	George Neggan	
John Flanders	William E. Summers	

They were not on Neill's return of February 11, but they died in the Alamo, therefore they most probably went in on March 1, and their names, added to the Telegraph-Bennett list, minus Pollard's and Dickenson's, make up the thirty-two.

4. The Problem of the Couriers

Little official or definite information can be found concerning the couriers whom Travis dispatched from the Alamo, but

[9] *Muster Rolls*, p. 20, General Land Office. The title of this page is, "Returns Made by Col. J. C. Neill of Men Remaining at Bexar When He Left."

from various statements, found here and there, it seems certain that he must have sent out between fifteen and twenty men during the eleven days of the actual investment of the fort. He himself in his letter of March 3, to the Convention, says that he had *"repeatedly* sent messengers to Fannin." Hermann Ehrenberg[10] says: "At the risk of their lives one or two [messengers] came daily through the enemy lines and brought us the pleadings of the garrison, especially the private letters of Travis, the Commander, and of Bowie and Crockett." John Sowers Brooks[11] mentions the arrival at Goliad of four different messengers from the Alamo between February 25 and March 9, but does not give their names. W. F. Gray[12] mentions four messengers from Travis who arrived at San Felipe, and it is certain that as many were sent to Gonzales. But who those messengers were, and on exactly what days they were sent out, cannot be fully determined. My investigation of this problem, however, seems to show pretty conclusively that those who went from the Alamo at some time between February 23, and March 6, were as follows:

James L. Allen	Benjamin F. Highsmith	Andrew Sowell
John Sutherland	James Butler Bonham	Bird Lockhart
——— Johnson	Juan N. Seguin	John W. Baylor
Lancelot Smithers	Antonio Cruz y Arocha	William S. Oury
Albert Martin	Alexandro de la Garza	Robert Brown[13]

Besides those on the above list, the following men were probably also messengers from the Alamo, but the evidence found concerning them was not conclusive in establishing the fact:

W. K. Simpson	Gerald Navan	Samuel G. Bastian[14]
Henry Warnell	Captain William Patton	

In addition to these suggestions, Sutherland tells us that Nat Lewis, a merchant of Bexar, who was in the Alamo on February 23, for a few hours, at least, together with Captain Philip Dimmitt and Lieutenant B. F. Nobles, left Bexar on the after-

[10]Hermann Ehrenberg, *Fahrten Und Schicksale Eines Deutschen in Texas*, 159, University of Texas Archives.

[11]See *Texas Historical Quarterly*, IX, 178-192.

[12]W. F. Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, 138.

[13]Chapter V repeats this list with annotations.

[14]Chapter V also discusses the probability of these men having been messengers from the Alamo.

noon of February 23. They were not sent out by Travis, and the circumstances of their going exclude them from being classed as official messengers, still they did a good deal to spread the news of the siege of the Alamo, and of the dire needs of that fortress. It is possible that Samuel G. Bastian accompanied these men in their flight.

5. *Crockett's Men—The Tennessee Mounted Volunteers*

There is yet another problem or moot question concerning the fall of the Alamo that involves the reconstruction of a roll of men: Did David Crockett go to the Alamo as colonel of a company of men, or did he enter practically alone?

As has previously been stated in the pages of this study, there is conclusive evidence that Crockett went to San Antonio with a band of men over whom he held at least a nominal command. Dr. John Sutherland says that he "brought twelve men with him direct from Tennessee."[15] Another writer who signs himself, "A Volunteer of 1836," says that he was one of a few volunteers who arrived at Nacogdoches in January, 1836, on their way to join the Texan army. They took the oath of allegiance on January 14, and sixteen or seventeen of them having secured horses, formed a company of "mounted volunteers" under Colonel David Crockett, and proceeded on their way to San Antonio by way of Washington-on-the-Brazos.[16]

Among the *Comptroller Military Service Records,* there are seven documents, all requisitions on the Provisional Government of Texas, signed by David Crockett and others of his band for board for a company of "Tennessee Mounted Volunteers" while they were resting at Washington and while they were on the way from that town to Bexar. These documents show that there were eighteen or more men in the company, including

[15]James T. DeShields (ed.), "John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News,* February 5, 1911.

[16]"A Volunteer of 1836" to Mr. Teulon, March 22, 1841, *Austin City Gazette. Comptroller Military Service Records,* No. 644, practically certifies that the "Volunteer of 1836" was A. L. Harrison, a member of Captain William B. Harrison's company. This man fell sick on the way to San Antonio and could not go on with his company, thereby escaping the massacre of March 6, 1836.

Colonel Crockett and Captain William B. Harrison,[17] and that they went by way of Gonzales to San Antonio.

At the General Land Office, the *Muster Roll Book*, pp. 115-117, gives three separate lists which contain, altogether, the names of more than a hundred volunteers who took the oath of allegiance before John Forbes at Nacogdoches on January 14, 1836. On these lists are names of fifteen men who certainly belong on the roll of the Alamo dead, probably there are three or four others that belong there also.[18]

But Dr. Sutherland says that only *twelve* men arrived with Crockett at the Alamo. Very probably that statement is correct, for there is evidence that for some reason B. A. M. Thomas was lagging behind "the squad" while on the way,[19] and there were others, no doubt, who did likewise, for these young men were eager to "spy out the land" and find good locations for the headrights that they expected to apply for.[20] We know that John Harris was a first cousin of David Crockett and that he came to Texas with Crockett and was a member of the Tennessee Mounted Volunteers, yet Harris's headright certificate designates him as a resident of Gonzales. The reason for this is that on his way to San Antonio he stopped at Gonzales and

[17]*Comptroller Military Service Records*, Nos. 10, 13, 14, 208, 226, 664, 1361, State Library. Among the men who signed these documents "in behalf of the squad" were: David Crockett, William B. Harrison, M. Autry, P. J. Bailey, D. W. Cloud, and B. A. M. Thomas.

[18]*Muster Roll Book*, p. 117, General Land Office shows the following thirteen names: H. S. Kimble, M. Autry, Peter J. Bailey, Daniel W. Cloud, William Irvine Lewis, William H. Furtleroy, B. A. M. Thomas, R. L. Stockton, Robert Bowen, Jesse E. Massie, William McDowelly, John P. Reynolds, Joseph Bayless. All except two of these men were from Tennessee. H. S. Kimble, Robert Bowen, and Jesse E. Massie did not go to San Antonio, although they were very probably members of the Tennessee Mounted Volunteers when that company reached Washington. Abundant proof has been found to show that the other ten men were of Crockett's band and that they died with him at the Alamo. See the annotated roll, Chapter V, and footnote 17 of this chapter.

[19]Comptroller Military Service Records, No. 13, is a requisition on the Texan Government for board for the Tennessee Mounted Volunteers, signed by David Crockett and others. This document is dated January 23, 1836. Record No. 10, also a requisition for board, and presented to the Government by the same tavern keeper as was No. 13, is dated January 24, and is signed "B. A. M. Thomas, one of D. Crockett's Company."

[20]*Court of Claims Vouchers*, File (A—C), General Land Office, contains two letters from David P. Cummings to his father. In both he tells about bands of the soldiers at San Antonio going out to look for land locations. The last of these letters was written only a few days before the arrival of the Mexican army.

selected a location for his headright land.[21] Just when John Harris entered the Alamo is not known, but it is evident that it was some days after Crockett and others entered.

In fact, various documents show that most of Crockett's men were professional men—doctors, lawyers, civil enginers—who had been enticed to Texas by the cheap lands and the rich opportunity to make a fortune. They were willing to help Texas fight for independence, but fighting was not their sole object in coming. Indeed there is abundant proof that many of the young men who came to Texas in 1836, did a good deal of land prospecting even on their way to the battle grounds. So it is probable that all of the Mounted Volunteers from Tennessee did not arrive in San Antonio with Crockett on February 8, 1836, but it is certain that most of them joined him there before the coming of the Mexicans on February 23.

Reliable documents show that the following list of men were members of the Tennessee Mounted Volunteers, and that they either went to the Alamo with Crockett, or followed him there a few days later:

	Age	
David Crockett	50	Tennessee
Joseph G. Washington	28	Tennessee
Micajah Autry	43	Tennessee
B. Archer M. Thomas (B. A. M.)	18	Tennessee
John Purdy Reynolds	27	Tennessee
John W. Thomson	27	Tennessee
William McDowell	40	Tennessee
Joseph Bayless	28	Tennessee
William B. Harrison	26	Tennessee
William H. Smith	24	Tennessee
Robert Campbell	25	Tennessee
John Harris	23	Kentucky—Tennessee
Peter James Bailey	24	Kentucky
Daniel William Cloud	21	Kentucky
William H. Furtleroy	22	Kentucky
Richard L. Stockton	18	Virginia
William Irvine Lewis	28	Pennsylvania[22]

[21]Mrs. Mary Lee Harris (Mrs. Sidon Harris) of Austin, Texas, wrote me on February 15, 1930, that John Harris was a younger brother of her husband's father whose name was Sidon Harris, Sr. She says that John Harris was named for John Crockett, the father of David Crockett, and that John Harris and David Crockett were first cousins and came to Texas together in 1836. Comptroller Military Service Records, No. 1077, shows that John Harris was a single man, a member of Captain William B. Harrison's company, and that his brother, Sidon Harris, administered on his estate.

[22]Chapter V repeats this list with annotations, but it seems well to state here that lands were issued to the heirs of all of these men except two—

At the Alamo most of these men were ranked as privates, although Crockett and Washington bore courtesy titles of "colonel," and William B. Harrison is listed among the captains of the fortress. It is said that upon the arrival of this company of Tennesseeans, Travis welcomed them cordially and offered Crockett a command while the soldiers all demanded a speech. Crockett refused the command, but made the speech, saying that he had come to identify himself with the Texans in their cause, and desired no higher honor than that of defending as a private the liberty of the country. Again we are told that upon the arrival of the Mexicans on February 23, Crockett once more offered his services, saying: "Here, am I, Colonel, assign us to some place and I and my Tenneesee boys will defend it all right."[23] Travis assigned to him and his band the duty of protecting the low wall and stockade on the south side of the fort, and there they died, fighting desperately. It thus appears that there was some sort of understanding that Crockett and his men should fight together, and although it is said that Crockett had no official command, it is evident that actually he was an active leader and commander during the twelve or thirteen days of the siege of the fort.[24] It is also said that after Travis and John J. Baugh had been killed on March 6, the command of the entire post devolved upon Crockett. This authority, however, if the statement is true, was brief—lasting less than an hour—and ended in the complete annihilation of all the combatants of the fortress.[25]

Robert Campbell and William H. Furtleroy—for service at the Alamo in 1836. For these two exceptions there is good proof that they died at the Alamo. Why their heirs never applied for the lands due them is not known. Some of the conclusive documents, other than those already cited that give information concerning Crockett's men are: Special Acts Certificate No. 14-36—14-66, Claims Vouchers, July 19, 1883, File (A—— C); *San Antonio Express*, November 24, 1901; *Lamar Papers*, V, 157. This document shows that the name William McDowelly on the *Muster Rolls*, p. 117, should be William McDowell. The error of the *Muster Rolls* is, no doubt, one by the copyist, for the original rolls were burned when the Adjutant General's office was destroyed by fire in 1855. Moreover, there were two William McDowells in the Texan army in 1836. The other man participated in the "Storming of Bexar" in December, 1835; Crockett's man died at the Alamo about forty days after his arrival in Texas.

[23]James T. DeShields (ed.), "John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News*, January 5, 1911.

[24]See Travis's letter to Houston, February 25, 1836, Chapter II, pp. 28-29.

[25]*Arkansas Advocate*, April 4, 1836.

6. *The Survivors of the Massacre*

But who were the survivors of the Alamo tragedy? Concerning the answer to this question the sources are confused and conflicting. All agree, however, that no white male inmate of the Alamo remained alive, and the majority of the records indicate that there were fifteen or more persons spared. These were: (1) Mrs. Almaron Dickenson; (2) Angelina, her fifteen-month-old daughter; (3) Mrs. Horace Alsbury;[26] (4) her eighteen-month-old son, Alijo; (5) her fifteen-year-old sister, Gertrudis Navarro (she later married John M. Cantu); (6) Mrs. Gregorio Esparza; (7) her eight-year-old son, Enrique; and (8) three other younger sons; (9) Mrs. Toribio Losoya—later Mrs. Milton—and her three young children; (10) Madam Candalaria.

[26]Nearly all the authorities agree in saying that Mrs. Alsbury and her sister were in the Alamo during its siege and at the time of its fall. Mrs. Alsbury and her sister, Gertrudis Navarro, were daughters of José Angel Navarro, the only one of the Navarro family who did not join the Texans in the revolution. (See J. M. Rodriguez, *Memoirs*, 17-20.) His wife had died while his daughters were very young, whereupon his sister, Mrs. Juan Martin Veramendi, adopted and reared them. They were thereby considered sisters-in-law to James Bowie and were under his protection at the Alamo. Mrs. Alsbury had married Dr. Horace Alsbury in January, 1836. Her first husband was Alijo Perez. Dr. Alsbury left Bexar a few days before the arrival of the Mexicans to prepare a place of safety for his family, but he stayed away too long; the enemy came while he was gone, so his family went with Bowie to the Alamo (see "Mrs. Alsbury's Account" in *John S. Ford's Journal*, (MS.), Archives of the University of Texas). Many accounts state that Mrs. Alsbury was Bowie's nurse after he was stricken with typhoid-pneumonia, but her own account says that Bowie would not permit her to nurse him for fear that she and her sister might contract his malady. But there is another story about these Navarro women. Frank Templeton in his *Margaret Ballentine, or the Fall of the Alamo*, 177; Mrs. James McKeever to Governor James S. Hogg, July 25, 1893 (State Library); also the application of Louise Alsbury for membership in the Daughters of the Texas Republic *(Records of the Daughters of the Texas Republic)*, all say that the Navarro women left the Alamo on the night of March 4, under flag of truce from Santa Anna, at the request of their father, Angel Navarro. These records, I believe, make true statements.

However, after the death of Dr. Alsbury in 1842, his wife married again, another Perez. The *San Antonio Express*, March 7, 1880, in recording her death, says that she was at the fall of the Alamo and saw Bowie killed. Enrique Esparza said *(San Antonio Express*, May 12, 1907) that Mrs. Alsbury was at the Alamo when it fell, and that during the last days of the siege she and Mrs. Esparza were Bowie's nurses. Then, *Memorial* No. 73, File 1, shows that in 1857, Mrs. Perez (Alsbury) applied for and received from the Legislature of Texas, a pension for her services, and for jewels and money that she lost at the Alamo during the siege and at the time of its fall. She made affidavit in this application that she was at the Alamo at the time of its fall.

Besides these, Mexican accounts claim that there were eight or ten other Mexican women and a number of small children in the Alamo who went through the massacre unharmed. This statement is possibly true. Enrique Esparza in his account adds to the list given above, the name of Trinidad Saucedo, a very beautiful young Mexican girl, and Doña Petra, a very old woman, but he emphatically denies that Madam Candalaria was there.[27] Joe, Travis's negro slave boy, said that one woman was killed during the fight. He thought that her death was accidental. It seems that she had attempted to cross the large area of the Alamo, for her body was found lying between two guns.[28] Besides the women and children, two negro slave boys were left alive,[29] Joe, the servant of Travis, and Sam, Bowie's man. And then, there was Anselmo Borgarra, who claimed to have been a servant to Travis and in the Alamo during the final assault, though not a combatant. It was he who first reached Gonzales with the news of the disaster.

After the fighting had ceased, the Mexican women and children were given immediately into the care of their friends and relatives at Bexar.[30] The negro boys were taken to a fortifica-

[27]*San Antonio Express*, May 12, 1907. Since a preponderance of sources declare that Mrs. Candalaria was Bowie's nurse and was in the Alamo at the time of its fall, I list her name, but I am inclined to believe that Enrique Esparza's statement is true. I failed to find any conclusive proof upon which to base my opinion, but the following facts are strong evidence for it. Mrs. Candalaria gave out the information that José María Jiminez, and Jacinto [Peña], José María Cabrera, and Elijo Losoya were victims of the Alamo massacre, and upon her statement, many who have attempted to reconstruct the Alamo roster have included these four names on their lists. The documents at the General Land Office, however, show that those four Mexicans fought at the Storming of Bexar, December, 1835, were honorably discharged on dates between December 20, 1835, and February 16, 1836, and were re-enlisted in the Texan army in time to participate in the Battle of San Jacinto. Had Mrs. Candalaria been in the Alamo, she would have known of the discharge of those men before the arrival of the Mexicans. It is true that on February 12, 1891, the Texas Legislature granted to Mrs. Candalaria a pension of $12 per month *(Memorial* No. 145, File 112, Department of State), but the affidavits in her petition stress the goodness and service of the old woman during several epidemics of small-pox that swept San Antonio. The petition stated, however, that she was a survivor of the Alamo massacre.

[28]F. W. Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, 137.

[29]*Ibid;* see also, *Arkansas Gazette*, April 15, 1836.

[30]*San Antonio Express*, May 12, 1907. Here Enrique Esparza tells about his recollection of the fall of the Alamo. He was in the fortress at the time of the fall, but was only eight years old at the time. Doubtless his reminiscences are colored by what his mother had told him of the event,

tion in the town and detained for several days. Santa Anna questioned Joe concerning conditions in Texas, the state of the Texan army, and especially whether many soldiers were in the army from the United States, and if many more were expected. He told Joe that he had enough men in his army "to march straight to Washington."[31] Mrs. Dickenson and her child were taken to Santa Anna's camp, where they were treated with consideration, even kindness.[32] In a few days Santa Anna put them

and by what he had learned from other contemporary sources, but official documents check his story pretty well in most of its statements, therefore, I consider it a valuable source from the point of view of the Mexican noncombatants. He says: "After the fall of the fort, the women and children were all huddled in the southwest corner of the church in a small room to the right of the entrance doors. A guard was placed over them, but the orders soon came for them to be carried to the home of Ramón Musquiz. There Santa Anna held a sort of court, hearing their story and turning them over to friends. Before dismissing her, he gave to each woman a blanket and two silver dollars."

[31]F. W. Gray, *From Virginia to Texas*, 137.

[32]Mr. A. D. Griffith, a grandson of Mrs. Dickenson, now lives at Austin. Until August, 1929, his sister, Mrs. Susan Sterling, lived with him. She is now dead. It has been my privilege to visit these old people—both past eighty—and to hear from them some of the stories their grandmother was wont to tell them concerning the Alamo disaster. Mrs. Sterling spent most of her young life in her grandmother's home and could retell many of the stories that she had heard from Mrs. Dickenson. Mrs. Dickenson always thought that she owed her life to the intercessions in her behalf of her friend, Mrs. Ramón Musquiz. On March 4, after Santa Anna had held his council of war, the population of Bexar who were friendly to the Texans were greatly grieved and terribly excited and frightened, because of Santa Anna's determination to annihilate the fortress. Ramón Musquiz was the political chief at Bexar, a Mexican official, but a friend to the Texans. Mrs. Musquiz and Mrs. Dickenson had been intimate friends, so upon learning of the inevitable disaster that would befall the Alamo, Mrs. Musquiz went herself to Santa Anna and pleaded with him to spare Mrs. Dickenson and her baby. After considerable hesitation he promised her that no woman in the fort should be harmed intentionally. So after the men had all been slain, an officer came to the church where the women were and asked: "Is there a Mrs. Dickenson here?" At first Mrs. Dickenson feared to answer, but the officer continued, "If you value your life speak up." She then stepped forward with her child in her arms. Some soldiers, who a short time before had killed Jacob Walker at her feet, started to seize her, but the officer commanded, "Let her alone, the General has need of her." Nevertheless, as she followed the officer across the church, a shot, fired at random, or intentionally, took effect in the calf of her right leg, causing a very bloody and painful wound. At Santa Anna's headquarters, where she was carried, this wound was carefully dressed and tended. Santa Anna seemed to admire the little girl, Angelina, and expressed deep compassion for her, begging that he be permitted to adopt her and educate her as one of his own children. He repeatedly urged this, arguing that without husband, and impoverished as she was, the mother would not be able to train and educate the child as she deserved to be, while as his daughter she would have every advantage that money could

on a horse and sent them to General Houston, then at Gonzales. He sent his own negro servant, Ben, along with them. Some fifteen miles from San Antonio, this little party came upon Joe, Travis's servant, who had escaped the guard at Santa Anna's camp. They all journeyed on together. About twenty-five miles from Gonzales, they met Deaf Smith, Robert E. Handy and Captain Henry Karnes, who had been sent out by Houston to investigate conditions at Bexar, for on Tuesday night, March 8, Anselmo Borgarra and Andres Barcena had arrived at Gonzales with the awful news concerning the Alamo. Houston had arrived in the little town only a few hours earlier with about five hundred soldiers, on his way to carry relief to Travis and his men. Borgarra, not knowing anything about Houston, who he was, or that he was in the town, did not carry his news to army headquarters, but circulated it pretty thoroughly among the citizens of the place. The grief and the excitement created by this report, amounted almost to madness. So in order to allay the excitement and calm the fears of the people, Houston ordered that Borgarra and Barcena be arrested and imprisoned as spies, although he himself was convinced that their story was true. By Thursday night John W. Smith arrived with the twenty-five troops whom he had undertaken to lead to San Antonio.[33] They confirmed Borgarra's story. By Friday night Mrs. Dickenson had arrived. There was no hope left—all must believe the truth of the awful message she bore. That was a black day for Gonzales. There was hardly a home that had not lost a beloved member. In this little town the fall of the Alamo left thirty-three widows and almost a hundred fatherless children.

procure. Needless to say the widowed mother scorned such a proposal, declaring that she would "crawl and work her fingers to the bone to support the babe, but that she had rather see the child starve than given into the hands of the author of so much horror."

[33]James T. DeShields (ed.), "John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News*, February 12, 1911. John W. Smith started from San Felipe to Bexar, on Sunday morning, March 6, with 25 recruits. "By Tuesday he had reached the Cibolo, where, not hearing the guns of the fortress, he halted for the night. Early the next morning he sent forward eight scouts toward the city to investigate. They had proceeded only six miles when they met the advance of the enemy who chased them for several miles, but being well mounted on fresh horses they made good their escape." See also, Yoakum, II, 471f; Houston to Fannin, March 11, 1836, *Army Papers*, State Library.

7. *The Ashes of the Dead*

As has been previously stated, the bodies of the slain Texans were stripped, mutilated, and burned.[34] Three pyres were built of alternate layers of wood and dead bodies.[35] Then grease and oil were poured over the pyres and the torch applied. Barnes says that it took two days to consume the bodies. To the modern mind this seems a far more humane way to dispose of great numbers of dead bodies than was the fate meted out to Santa Anna's dead soldiers. But in 1836 cremation on a funeral pyre at the order of the victor was regarded as the greatest cruelty and dishonor that could be shown a fallen foe.

Events moved swiftly in Texas during the next few months; momentous happenings crowded one upon the other so rapidly that it was almost a year after the massacre before the fragments and ashes of the Alamo defenders had Christian burial. But after the victory at San Jacinto, with Santa Anna captured, with the invading Mexicans all driven out of Texas, with the government of the new republic established under its own constitution, with the fears of the people calmed, with peace and prosperity fairly established—then it was that General Houston had the time to concern himself with the more refined senti-

[34]Francisco Ruiz, Texas Almanac, 1860, p. 80; Ramón Martinez Caro, *Verdadera Idea*, 11; Vicente Filisola, *Guerra de Tejas*, 13-14. Here Filisola says that the cruelties committed upon the Texas dead "will always leave a stain on Mexican honor," but he adds that such atrocities were not characteristic of Mexican soldiers.

[35]Concerning the pyres the records differ. The *Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 28, 1837, in giving an account of the burial of the ashes of the heroes, describes three pyres; Adina De Zavala, *History and Legends of the Alamo*, 36, indicates four pyres; and Mary Austin Holley, *Texas* (1836), 354, seems to agree with this opinion. Miss De Zavala says: "The bodies of the Texas dead were ordered by Santa Anna to be piled in heaps and burned, and this order was in part executed within the court yard or patio of the main Alamo building north of the church. Tradition says that this first funeral pyre was lighted in the courtyard, but that orders were given later to burn the rest of the bodies elsewhere, and that three pyres were then made beyond the walls. These three pyres were to the south, southeast, and east by south." Charles M. Barnes, *Combats and Conquests of Immortal Heroes*, 36-37, says "two immense pyres," and locates them thus: "these were located on what was then known as the Alameda, or Cottonwood grove roadway, but which is now a wide portion of Commerce Street. The northeast end of one of those pyres extended into the eastern portion of the front yard of what is now the Ludlow House, the other was in what is now the yard of Dr. Ferdinand Herff, Sr.'s, old Post or Springfield House. I have had both pyres positively located by those who saw the corpses of the slain placed there."

ments of civilized man. Accordingly, he ordered Colonel Juan N. Seguin, then in command of the post at Bexar, to collect the bones and ashes of the Alamo dead and give them the honors of a military burial. On February 25, 1837, Seguin obeyed this order and performed his duty with a considerable ceremony, an account of which appeared in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of March 28, 1837.

But even concerning this event, accounts differ. Dr. John Sutherland[36] says that the *Telegraph's* account of the burial of the ashes of the Alamo dead was all a hoax. He claimed that "sometime after the Battle of San Jacinto, a company of rangers, under Captain Byrd Lockhart, passed through Bexar, and halting at the dismantled fortress of the Alamo, searched out and found the ashes of the brave men who died there. These remains they gathered into a substantial coffin and interred them with military honors at a spot, then a peach orchard, not far from the scene of the last charge and struggle." Still another writer[37] says: "After the battle of the Alamo, it is said that by the authority of the alcalde, Don Francisco Ruiz, the remains of the Alamo heroes were tenderly gathered together and placed beneath the sod."[38] But to further complicate the records of this

[36]James T. DeShields (ed.), "John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News*, February 12, 1911.

[37]J. M. Rodrigues, *Memoirs*, 7.

[38]No satisfactory conclusion has been reached concerning the variance of these accounts, but it seems possible that all were writing of the same occasion. According to the *Telegraph's* account, the funeral procession moved from the San Fernando Church in the following order: "Field officers; staff officers; civil authorities; clergy; military not attached to the corps; and others; pall bearers; coffin; pall bearers; mourners and relatives; music; battalion; citizens." It is possible that Byrd Lockhart and his men were a part of this procession either as "military not attached to the corps," as "Pall bearers," or as "others." Rodrigues may have erred in thinking that the ceremony was at the command of Alcalde Ruiz, or, perhaps the alcalde did issue orders that the town should take part in the ceremony. Since there were three pyres without the Alamo walls, it is probable that the largest one—the one at which the ashes were interred—was in an orchard, or near a few peach trees that grew near the Alamo. A. J. Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters of Southwest Texas*, 14, says that the bones of the Alamo men were buried 75 yards from the northwest corner of the Alamo. Sowell intended to be definite, I am sure, but one is left wondering whether he meant the northwest corner of the church which had come to be "the Alamo" at the time he wrote, or the northwest corner of the entire Alamo enclosure as it was at the time of the massacre. But even if that point could be determined the exact location would still be uncertain, for in what *direction* from the northwest corner was the sepulchre?

event, Colonel Seguin, in reply to an inquiry from General Hamilton P. Bee, concerning the burial of the Alamo men, wrote on March 28, 1889: "I collected the fragments, placed them in an urn and buried it in the Cathedral of San Fernando, immediately in front of the altar—that is in front of the railing and near the steps."[39] The clergy of San Fernando vehemently deny the truth of this statement; nevertheless, it is believed by many Texans.[40]

8. Mexican Losses

There is probably more disagreement among the sources concerning the number of Mexicans killed in the siege and last assault of the fort than upon any other one point of the entire Alamo subject. Santa Anna's official report[41] of seventy killed and three hundred wounded is too absurd to be considered, but, on the other hand, some of the unofficial Mexican reports seem to exaggerate the number of Mexicans who were slain. Francisco Becerra, a sergeant in General Sesma's division, says that during the siege and final assault of the Alamo, the Mexicans lost 2000 killed and 300 wounded.[42] Francisco Ruiz, the alcalde

[39]Juan N. Seguin to General H. P. Bee, March 28, 1889, Archives of the Texas State Library.

[40]Eugene C. Barker, "The Funeral of the Heroes of the Alamo," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, V, 69. In this article Dr. Barker gives a full account of the funeral as it was related in the *Telegraph*, and kindly excuses Seguin's letter of March 28, 1889, as the lapse of memory of an old man. See also, J. M. Rodrigues, *Memoirs*, 9. Concerning Seguin's letter to Bee, Rodrigues says: "It is true that the bones were gathered together somewhere in the neighborhood, or a little east of where the Menger Hotel now stands, and were buried by Seguin in 1837, but that any of them were buried in the Cathedral, I have never heard a word, nor do I believe it true. Nothing of the kind could have happened without our [the leading Mexican families of San Antonio] knowing something about it, and we have never heard anything about it." It may likewise be interesting to see W. T. Hefley, *Heroes of the Alamo*, since he gives full credence to the statement made by Seguin in 1889.

[41]Santa Anna to the Minister of War and Marine, March 6, 1836, University of Texas Transcripts, Guerra, Frac. 1, Leg. 3, Op. Mil. 1836, Campana de Tejas. In this report Santa Anna also stated that there were 600 Texans killed.

The Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock) of April 26, 1836, sarcastically stated: "Santa Anna's official report of the taking of San Antonio has arrived. He acknowledges that he found the fighting hard, but he boasts that he killed 600 Texans out of the 180 who were in the fort."

[42]John S. Ford, *Journal* (MS.), University of Texas Archives. See also, John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*, 139.

Francisco Becerra, a sergeant in the Mexican army, was at the siege and fall of the Alamo, and was wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle

of Bexar, the man whom Santa Anna ordered to bury his dead, says the Mexican dead numbered 1600. Upon their arrival at Gonzales, Mrs. Dickenson and Joe, Travis's servant, both reported this same number of Mexican dead; but the *Telegraph and Texas Register,* March 24, 1836, says, the enemy loss, killed and wounded was 1500; the messenger from the Navarro family to Seguin at Gonzales gave the same number, while the messenger from the Mexican citizens of Bexar to their representatives at the Convention, reported 521 dead and as many wounded. On April 15, 1836, Jesse B. Badgett, a member of the Convention, was on a visit to his old home in Little Rock, Arkansas, and gave to the press of that city an account of the Alamo disaster. He said that according to the best information to be obtained in Texas when he left, the Mexicans had lost 881 killed and over 700 wounded, and that of this loss 521 were killed during the final assault, and an equally great number wounded. Then Colonel Edward Stiff relates that Ben, Santa Anna's negro cook, told him that he heard the Mexican officers talk among themselves about their loss, and they said they had 1200 killed. In writing his *History of Texas,* Yoakum was very conservative in his estimate of the Mexican loss at the Alamo. He said that it was about three times that of the Texan loss. Wooten puts the number of dead at 521, with as many wounded. Captain R. M. Potter, afraid that he would exaggerate the estimate, reasoned out by military calculations that the Mexicans lost only 500 killed and wounded. We know that his estimate is far too conservative. Sutherland also worked on this problem. He says:

The most conclusive witness that I have concerning the number of Mexicans lost at the Alamo was secured after the Battle

of San Jacinto. To avoid the expense of feeding their prisoners, the Texan authorities allowed them to hire themselves to any Texan who would employ them. Thus Becerra served both Mirabeau B. Lamar and John J. Linn for several years. He gave to both of these employers his account of the siege and fall of the Alamo. Becerra became a Texas citizen and fought in the Texan army against the Indians in 1839, and was a member of Lamar's company in the war between Mexico and the United States. Then, when the Civil War broke out, he joined the Confederate forces and served as a member of F. J. Parker's company. After the Civil War he settled in Brownsville where he was on the police force for years. He was considered an honest man and was respected by all classes of citizens at Brownsville. His account of the siege and fall of the Alamo is puzzling, however, a strange mixture of truth and error. For the most part it can be verified by official documents—both Mexican and Texan—but there are statements throughout that seem fanciful, exaggerated, erroneous.

of San Jacinto. It came from Ramón Caro, the private secretary of Santa Anna. During my interview with this man, I requested Captain Patton, the interpreter, to ask him how many men they had in the siege of the Alamo, and what was their loss there. Patton did so, and the answer was: 'We brought to San Antonio more than 5000 men, and we lost during the siege 1544 of the best of them. The Texans fought more like devils than like men.' Santa Anna and Almonte were both present at this conversation and they did not contradict the statement.

In his account Sutherland goes on to figure out that Caro meant 1544 men were killed or mortally wounded, and he cites Ruiz's estimate of 1600 to back up his reasoning.[43]

Sutherland's reasoning may be correct. A study and comparison of all these statements with one another and with correlated accounts convinces me that Caro gave a truthful answer to Patton's question, and the majority of the sources indicate, as Sutherland thought, that he meant 1544 killed.[44] But we must remember, as the Mexican reports clearly show, that the Texans did not do all that slaughter, for during the first part of the final assault, the Mexicans were so distributed and arranged for the attack that they practically battled against themselves. Moreover, their hospital service was very deficient. Many of the wounded died far lack of medical attention, beds, shelter, and surgical instruments.[45]

[43]Citation to above mentioned sources is as follows: *Texas Almanac*, 1860, 80; John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*, 144; J. M. Morphis, *History of Texas*, 186; A. J. Sowell, *Rangers and Pioneers of Texas*, 140; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 24, 1836; John S. Ford, *Journal* (MS.), p. 73, University of Texas Archives; *Arkansas Gazette*, April 15, 1836; Edward Stiff, *Texas Emigrant*, 8; Yoakum, II, 82; D. G. Wooten, *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 242; R. M. Potter, "The Fall of the Alamo," *Magazine of American History*, January, 1878; John Sutherland's "Account of the Fall of the Alamo," *Dallas News*, February 12, 1911; also in John S. Ford's *Journal* (MS.), pp. 74-75, University of Texas Archives.

[44]See Travis to Houston, February 25, 1836, Chapter II, pp. 28-29.

Beyond a doubt the Mexicans lost heavily on February 25. See also, *Arkansas Gazette*, April 12, 1836, which reports that the Mexican loss at the Alamo was not less than 1000 killed and as many wounded. Again that paper, May 3, 1836, prints a letter from Henry Raguet of Nacogdoches, stating that there were 187 Texans slain on March 6, and that the Mexicans lost 521 slain and as many wounded. He adds that the Mexicans had lost an equal or greater number in previous attacks which would make more than 1000 loss for Santa Anna.

[45]Ramon Martinez Caro, *Verdadera Idea*, 11; John Ford, *Journal* (MS.), "Dr. John H. Barnard's Journal from December, 1835, to March 27, 1836, and Scraps from then on till May 30." In this journal Dr. Barnard, a

The disposal of the Mexican dead was a serious problem for Santa Anna, but even a greater one for the citizens of Bexar. Santa Anna ordered Francisco Ruiz, the alcalde of Bexar, to have them buried, but Ruiz himself reports that there was not room enough for them in the cemetery; moreover, the work of digging even trench graves for so large a number was too great a task for the facilities he had for the work, so he had many of the bodies thrown into the San Antonio river.[46] Some of those bodies floated off below, but many lodged against the banks and other obstructions and choked the river. Great flocks of vultures hovered over the city for weeks afterward. All the citizens who had remained at Bexar now fled, if they could find a way to go. Many who remained fell sick of fever and other diseases, caused by the stench and unsanitary conditions. Santa Anna himself was one of the victims of illness.

surgeon with Fannin at Goliad, tells how he and all other medical men were spared by the Mexicans for the sake of the service they might render the wounded Mexicans. On April 16, 1836, he records that "Ugartuhea" (no doubt Ugartechea) sent a courier from San Antonio to the commandant of Goliad, asking that surgeons who could amputate limbs be sent to him. Drs. Barnard and Shackelford volunteered to go. They arrived in San Antonio on April 20. On the 21st Dr. Barnard writes in his journal: "Yesterday and today we have been around with the surgeons of the place to visit the wounded, and a pretty piece of work 'Travis and his faithful few' have made of them. There are now about 100 of the wounded here. The surgeons tell us that 400 of them were brought into the hospital the morning they stormed the Alamo, but I think from appearances there must have been many more than that number. I see many around the town who were crippled then, *apparently two or three hundred*, and the citizens tell me that three or four hundred have died of their wounds. . . . Their surgical department is shockingly conducted—not an amputation performed before we arrived, although there are several cases even now that should have been operated upon at the first, and how many have died of the want of operation it is impossible to tell, though it is a fair inference that there have not been few. There has been scarcely a ball cut out as yet, every patient carrying the lead that he received that morning. . . . We have been treated well by the officers here. It is evident that they have a high opinion of our skill, and if the surgeons that I have seen among them are a fair sample of their medical talent, I can safely say without the least spark of vanity that they have reason to think well of us. The head surgeon of the garrison came for me the other day to visit his wife who was in the greatest distress and he did not know what to do for her. On going to his house to see her, I found that she merely had the toothache. This man amputated the leg of one of the wounded men on the day that we arrived. The man died next day. We have amputated but one limb, and the patient is doing well. A dozen more need this service, but they will die anyway, so there is no need to do it."

[46] *Texas Almanac*, 1860, p. 80.

9. The Flag of the Alamo

No official document, or statement can be found concerning the flag of the Alamo, but there is considerable discrepancy in the statements of the various Texas historians in referring to it. Kennedy, *Texas,* II, 180-181, says that the flag used by Travis and his men, was the Mexican tricolor—red, white, green—with two blue stars on the white bar. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas,* II, 208, and others who follow Kennedy as authority, make the same statement. The flag they describe was the Coahuila-Texas flag. Yoakum, Potter, McArdle, and other more recent students agree that the Alamo flag was the Mexican tricolor with the numerals *1824* on the white bar. This tenet is logical. The hated union with Coahuila was one cause of the Texas Revolution, and it is hardly likely that the Texans would fight under a flag which symbolized that union. When they began the Revolution they did not immediately declare for independence, but for liberal government as a state of the Mexican republic, acccording to the terms of the Mexican constitution of 1824. Hence, it was but logical that they should adopt as their flag a modification of the Mexican national standard, so instead of the eagle, they decided to imprint *1824* on the white bar of the tricolor. This flag was almost certainly the one used at the Alamo.

But from what part of the fortress did it float? The earlier writers did not venture to say, but R. M. Potter, "The Texas Revolution," *Magazine of American History,* January, 1878, states that the flag was over the church. H. A. McArdle and a half dozen or more other writers accept his statement as authority. But a few others—seemingly a minority in both numbers and authority—say that the flag was over the southwest corner of the main building of the fort, the building designated "long barracks" in the plats. Not one of all these writers takes the pains to give any authority for his statements concerning the flag, nor has research on the subject revealed unquestionable information, still I am convinced, that in this case, the minority authority had reached the correct conclusion. Their conclusion, at any rate, is logical, for the flag of a fortress would normally fly from that portion of the structure that was, and that had throughout the history of the building, been the stronghold.

In the mission days of the Alamo, the south end of the main building—then the tower—had guarded the entrance to the mission, and from this tower the flag had floated. In 1827 Juan Sanchez Estrada made a rough sketch of the Alamo. In that picture the Coahuila-Texas flag is conspicuous. It floats from this same southwest corner of the main building.[47] In Estrada's sketch the church is scarcely noticeable; it is merely a square block in the background. We must remember that since 1763 the church of the Alamo had been in a ruined condition, the roof and twin towers having fallen in during that year. We must remember, also, that the irregular façade of the church, with which we are so familiar today, is a form given to the old building for the first time in 1848, when the old ruin was repaired by the authority of the United States government. At the time of the siege in 1836, the church was roofless except for flat covers over the small anterooms at the west entrance and on the north side. The towers were gone, the roof was gone, and the walls of the church were lower than were the flat roof of the main building only 50 feet away. The south end of this main building, as has been previously stated, served, on its first floor, as the armory of the fort, while its second floor was the hospital. It seems, then, far more reasonable to think that the flag

[47]Appendix III of the thesis of which these chapters are a part shows nine pictures of the Alamo. The second picture of that collection is the Estrada drawing. It was sketched from the roof of the Verramendi house. The original sketch is in the *Wagner Collection of Materials for Southwestern and Mexican History*, and is now the property of Yale University.

The *Star-Telegram* (Fort Worth) of November 12, 1933, prints an article, written by B. C. Utecht (Staff Correspondent), under the title, *Flag that Waved Over Alamo's 180 Defenders Is Discovered by a Texan in a Mexican Museum.* This article is about two columns in length, and carries a picture of the so-called discovery. It also states that the discovery of this flag, and the materials relative to it, collected by the former Attorney General W. A. Keeling, has opened a new chapter in Texas history.

The entire article makes it clear to any student of Texas history—especially of the history of the Alamo episode—that the newly discovered flag in the Mexican museum is not the flag that floated from the Alamo's fortress tower in 1836, but is merely a company flag of the first company of New Orleans Grays. There is little doubt that the Mexicans did acquire that flag, they now have in their museum, when they took possession of the Alamo after the massacre of its defenders on March 6, 1836, but historical facts almost certainly prove that it could not have been the flag used by Travis as the general flag of his fort.

Some of these conclusive historical facts are: (1) There were two well-organized companies of New Orleans Grays. The flag, pictured in the *Telegram* was presented to the first company of New Orleans Grays as it left Nacogdoches in November, 1835. Both these companies of troops,

of the fortress should fly over the armory—the real stronghold—than over the decadent chapel. Especially is this thinking logical, since over the armory—the south end of the main building—had been the location of the flag staff during the mission days, and evidently, also, during the times (Estrada's sketch) the Mexicans had used the building to house their soldiery.

10. El Deguello

All authentic accounts of the fall of the Alamo state that the signal for the final attack was given by "a long clear blast from a bugle, followed by the notes of the dreadful deguello."

This old bugle call has an interesting history of its own, a history that is much older than that of Texas, or even of Mexico itself, for it is known to extend back through the centuries of Spanish annals to the wars against the Moors. Always its notes have meant wanton destruction of property and death without mercy, and for this reason it is often designated as "the fire and death call." In fact, the very word *deguello* in the Spanish language signifies the act of beheading or throat cutting—utter destruction and ruin. Throughout its history this old call has always been the relentless signal of no quarter, no mercy to the foe.

organized at New Orleans for Texas service, participated in the "Storming of Bexar," December 5-10, 1835. Most of the men of both companies remained at San Antonio after General Cos evacuated the place, but by the first of January, 1836, all of them, except some half dozen, had deserted the Alamo, led away by Francis W. Johnson and James Grant. Indeed, only six men from these New Orleans companies—two from the first, and four from the second—died with Travis at the Alamo. (2) Colonel J. C. Neill, the commander of the Alamo after Johnson left, bitterly resented the depletion of the Alamo fortress by Johnson, Grant, and their men. Bowie and Travis who became the commanders of the San Antonio troops after Neill's departure on February 12, 1836, felt this same bitterness, and there is little probability that any of these three leaders at the Alamo would have tolerated as their banner the flag of a company, all members of which, except *two*, had deserted and depleted the fortress. (3) We know definitely (see C. M. S. R., State Library) that Travis advanced money from his private purse with which to buy a flag and other supplies for the company that he carried to the Alamo. If any *company* flag was to fly from the fortress tower it would surely have been that of Travis's own company. I am sure that all who know Travis will readily concede this. We have no description of the flag of Travis's company. (4) A goodly number of Texans, contemporary with the fall of the Alamo, tell us that the flag used by the Texan soldiers in 1835 and early part of 1836, was the Mexican tri-color with the figures *1824* on the white bar. (See McArdle's *Alamo Book*, Texas State Library, for a good summary of these authoritative statements.)

Like all long-used music, the *deguello* has many variants.[48] Three versions of this old *toque* have been found during this study, the one used by Villa's band, the one that Professor Asbury discovered, and finally, the official version of 1836.[49] Although the arrangement of the music differs in all three of these versions, it is interesting to note that they are all written in the key of *C*, and all extend through the octave to *G* of the lower octave. Separated from its aged significance, the music within itself is not especially harsh or discordant. There is little doubt that the *deguello* here presented is the call that was sounded at the Alamo on the morning of March 6, 1836.

11. The Alamo Monuments

Although the problem of erecting a monument in memory of the Alamo dead is not exactly a problem attached to the incident of the siege and fall of the fortress, it is, nevertheless, closely related to the event, and from time to time has been a real problem in Texas. Moreover, no one can compile a roll of the Alamo victims without taking into account the list engraved upon the existing Alamo monument. It seems fitting, therefore, to close this chapter with a brief statement concerning the memorials that the state of Texas has provided lest her citizens forget the service rendered by the men of the Alamo.

It was twenty years after the massacre before Texas erected the first monument to the memory of the Alamo heroes, but in 1856 a monument, made from the stones of the ruined walls of the old fort, was placed in the corridor of the first stone capitol at Austin.[50] It was the work of an Englishman named Nangle.

[48]I am indebted to Professor Samuel E. Asbury of the Texas A. and M. College for initiating my research concerning this old bugle call.

[49]Credit for finding the official *deguello* belongs to Mr. Luis Chavez Orosco of Mexico City. In 1926, Mr. Orosco was employed by the Mexican government to write a history of the Texas Revolution of 1836. While working in the Garcia Library of the University of Texas, he was amused at, and became interested in the difficulties I was having in my search for this old Mexican bugle call. He kindly offered to help find it. At his request the Mexican War Department sent many books of martial music, tactics, toques, and orders, but in none of them could the *deguello* be found. However, upon Mr. Orosco's return to Mexico, he himself searched through the archives of the War Department, and succeeded in finding a copy of the *deguello* used by the Mexican armies from 1830 to 1845 and later. Its official use is now obsolete.

[50]C. W. Raines, "The Alamo Monument," *Texas Historical Quarterly*, VI, 300-310.

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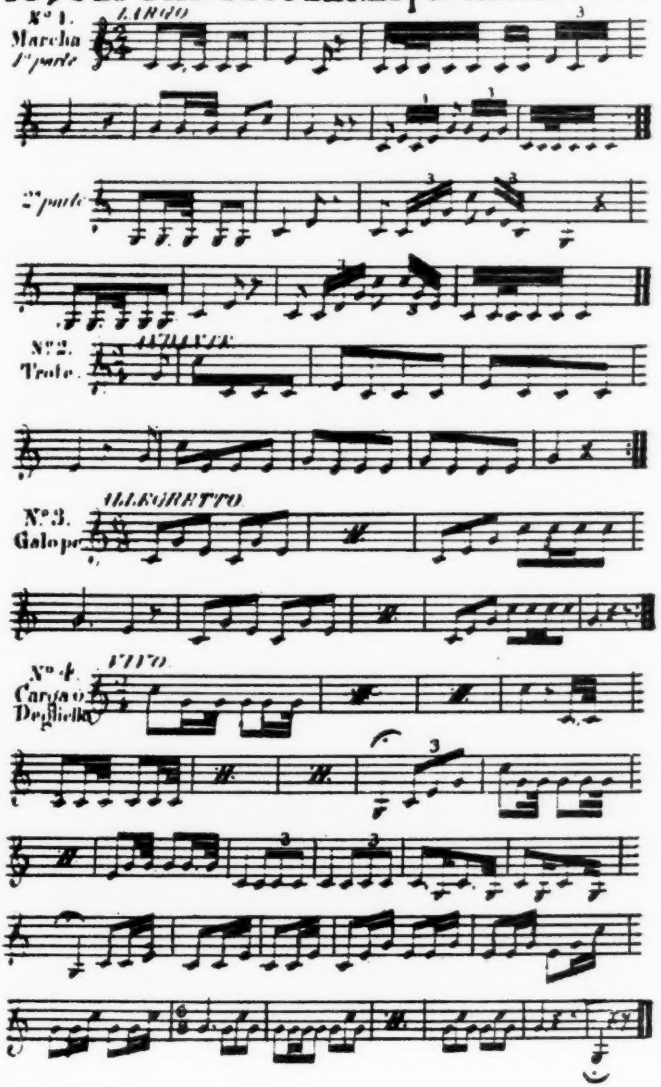
TOQUES PARTICULARES p.l CABALLERIA.



On November 19, 1881, the capitol and the monument were destroyed by fire, but in that same year, the Twenty-first Legislature appropriated funds for an Alamo monument to be erected in the grounds of the new capitol. In 1891 it was constructed by James S. Clark & Company of Louisville, Kentucky. It is built of Texas granite, and now stands at the right of the main entrance of the Capitol, fronting Congress Avenue.

The foundation forms a floor nineteen feet square which rises about two feet above the level of the ground. At each corner of this foundation floor is placed a three-foot-square marginal base. These bases support four massive polished pillars, seven feet high by two feet and three inches square. These pillars in turn support arches which unite in a dome. The capstone is a single piece of granite upon which stands a bronze figure of a typical soldier of early Texas. The whole structure is 35½ feet high. On the west lintel are engraved these words: "Heroes of the Alamo"; on the east, "God and Texas, Liberty or Death"; on the south, "I shall never surrender or retreat"; on the north pediment and lintel, "Thermopylae had her messenger of defeat, the Alamo had none." On the four columns are chiseled the names of the Alamo heroes.[51]

Besides this monument the state of Texas has purchased the chapel and part of the old Alamo building, and maintains these old ruins as a memorial to the men who died within their walls. But the greatest and most fitting monument of all, perhaps, is the thriving, progressive city of San Antonio that has grown up about the ruins of the old fortress.

[51]See the Alamo monument in the Capitol grounds. Chapter V of this study will show the discrepancy between the findings of my research and those of the Alamo monument committee, concerning the names of the men who died at the Alamo.

HENRY AUSTIN

WILLIAM RANSOM HOGAN

1. FIRST FORTY YEARS

Among the colonists who sought land in Texas before 1836, none had a more adventurous past than Henry Austin. Cabin boy on a sealing and trading voyage to China, commander of vessels which had reached the Persian Gulf, merchant and commission agent in New England and central Mexico, captain of a steamboat in which he had navigated the Rio Grande—these pursuits and more, he had followed with varying degrees of success. He spent the last twenty years of his life in Texas engaged in an incessant struggle to wring a fortune from the wilderness. His activities there, although not of a spectacular nature, served to support and extend the work of the empresario Stephen F. Austin, his first cousin.

He was a member of a New England family of better than ordinary economic station in life. His father, Elijah Austin, was a merchant-shipowner, "well known to the mercantile community of New Haven and New York," who opened in 1790 a new phase of American commerce with China, a trade which chiefly involved the exchange of southern Pacific sealskins for Cantonese tea.[1] On November 7, 1776, Elijah Austin had married Esther Phelps, of Richardson and Phelps lineage, and "educated in the then only boarding school for young ladies in New England."[2]

It was only natural that this successful merchant and his wife should furnish their large New Haven home in a fashion al-

[1]Memorandum of Stephen F. Austin, in D. G. Wooten (ed.), *Comprehensive History of Texas* (Dallas, 1898), I, 440; K. S. Latourette, *History of Early Relations between the United States and China* (New Haven, 1917), 39; "Diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr.," in *Papers of New Haven Colony Historical Society*, IV, 3. In sending out two ships to the Falkland Islands and South Georgia and thence to Canton, Elijah Austin acted on information obtained from the voyage of the vessel *States*, which had made a voyage to the Falkland Islands in 1785, and returned to New York with sealskins. These furs were reshipped to China in the *Eleonora*. But Austin's ships made the first "direct sealing voyage to Canton."

[2]Old Family Records, Mary Austin Holley Papers, University of Texas; F. A. Virkus, *Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy* (Chicago, 1926), I, 413.

most luxurious for the time. One room contained all "cherry" furniture—bureau and table, easy chair and candlestand; the dining room was complete even to the two "cherry" sideboards, well equipped with wines and cider, a "mahogany tea caddy," and a silver service which included a pair of sugar tongs. And the *"big parlor"* impressed the eight children of the family as a *"magnificent apartment,"* with its books on the table, "prints with glasses" on the walls, coat of arms suspended over the mantle, and a rare Wilton carpet, or for summer use, "the still rarer straw matting from China . . . (the admiration . . . of New Haven)," on the floor. This was the house in which Henry Austin, born January 31, 1782, spent his boyhood.[3]

His available letters, all written after he was twenty-four, indicate that Henry acquired more than the rudiments of an education, although the formal part of his early training could not have been very extensive. At the age when boys of today are planning to enter high school, he was following the example of many other New England youths of the late eighteenth century by preparing to go to sea. In the summer of 1794 he was serving as a cabin boy on the *Neptune,* one of his father's ships, then on a sealing and trading voyage to the Falkland Islands and China. He returned to find that his father had contracted yellow fever on board one of his West Indian vessels, lately arrived in New Haven, and had died, June 23, 1794.[4]

A major share of the family responsibility was now placed on the three eldest boys, Horace, E. Phelps, and Henry. Horace's delicate health, his marriage in June, 1804, and his lack of success in business prevented him from being of much aid to the family; E. Phelps died of yellow fever "in a foreign land." Although Henry "was left a fatherless boy dependent upon his own efforts to aid and sup[p]ort his younger brothers and sisters," his early character-building voyage to China had in reality returned him a "man full of energy." He carried on the work and spirit of his father by engaging in the shipping trade.

"He made voyages & built ships. In one of these, The Persia,

[3]Mary Austin Holley, Stephen F. Austin (MS.), University of Texas; Copy of Probate Records, New Haven, Connecticut, Vol. 17, p. 302, in Henry Austin Papers, University of Texas; Copy of Henry Austin's Will, Henry Austin Papers.

[4]Holley, Stephen F. Austin; Old Family Records, Holley Papers.

built at Medford, Massachusetts, he planned and executed a voyage up the Persian Gulf, taking with him two other vessels to load with the fruit of the date palm, which he brought to New York in order to manufacture . . . into brandy. The experiment succeeded so far as the brandy was concerned, but the market happened to be glutted with French brandy, & it proved an unprofitable investment. But it introduced a new article of Commerce. The Date fruit was then first known in the United States. The date trees in the City of New Orleans, & those in the garden of Mr Montgomery below the City, were brought there with many other young plants by Henry Austin. The bricks from the tower of Babel, in the New York Museum, were then brought from Babylon & presented to the celebrated Dr. Mitchell."[5]

He not only visited Babylon but also made a "hunt through Bagdad." Many of the reports he made concerning the "interesting facts" he had discovered were substantiated by later travellers.[6]

By 1805 Henry Austin had temporarily abandoned the sea and was engaged in business in New York and New Haven. Various circumstances had combined to relieve him of the full burden of responsibility for his father's family. His brothers, Archibald and John P., were in business for themselves; his mother had married Peleg Sanford, a New Haven merchant; and his sister Mary had married Rev. Horace Holley in January, 1805. It only remained for him to help in the support of his sister Henrietta, and to assist his brother Charles in obtaining an education.[7]

The next year Henry Austin, a young man of twenty-four, visited his uncle Moses Austin, then engaged in the lead mining business at St. Genevieve in southwestern Missouri. While there he aided him in the prosecution of a damage suit, thus forming a basis for a relationship with his kinsman which lasted over ten years.[8] He not only acted as his uncle's New York

[5]Holley, Stephen F. Austin. "The celebrated Dr. Mitchell" was probably Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, editor of the *Medical Repository* from 1797 to 1812, and interested in foreign exploration.

[6]Austin to Holley, May 7, 1831, Henry Austin Papers, University of Texas; Fiske (?), *A Visit to Texas* (New York, 1836), 112.

[7]F. B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* (New Haven, 1912), VI, 441; Old Family Records, Holley Papers.

[8]Austin to J. Bryant [Bryan], [July, 1806], in E. C. Barker, *The Austin Papers*, I, 110, *Report* of American Historical Association, 1919, II.

business representative in 1808 and 1809, but he was the successful intermediary in a business quarrel long existent between Moses and his brother Stephen Austin.[9] Throughout 1811 and 1812 Henry Austin gave assistance to Mrs. Moses Austin, who had taken two of her children east in order that they might be placed in school. In a letter written to her father in December, 1811, Emily, one of the children, told of her enjoyment of a play to which Henry had taken her. Six months later her mother wrote to her husband:

"Received a letter from our good friend H. Austin He expresses the greatest anxiety for the arrival of Stephen he laments that he [Stephen F. Austin, son of Moses Austin] did not start sooner he says lead is fourteen dollars and much wanted—he was apprehensive I was out of pocket money and Inclosed me 80 dollars, which was very kind and Considerate in him—indeed he has in every instance been attentive and friendly to me and mine—he says Emily is in good health—"[10]

There is evidence, however, of a depressing termination of his connection with Moses Austin. In December, 1817, his uncle placed drafts amounting to $1,000 in the hands of Henry Elliot, agent of Henry Austin, "to be placed to the credit of Moses Austin on a judgment against him in favor of Henry Austin."[11]

In the meantime Henry Austin had been experiencing both success and adverse fortune in his business affairs. In 1808 he had become financially independent, having "derived much benefit" from his various voyages, but three years later the tide of his financial fortunes had very definitely begun to ebb, and he was borrowing money at one and one-half per cent per month in order to escape sacrificing his property. He wrote that for "the four years Past Scarce a Dollar that has gone out of my hands has returned to me—" However, in the fall of 1812 he was able to make a leisurely journey with his sister to Ballston Springs, a New York health resort.[12]

[9]Austin to Moses Austin, July 18, 1808, Austin Papers, unpublished, University of Texas; Receipt signed by Henry Austin, July 4, 1810, Austin Papers.

[10]Maria Austin to Moses Austin, June 23, 1812, *Austin Papers*, I, 213.

[11]Receipt signed by Henry Elliott, December 4, 1817, Austin Papers.

[12]Austin to Moses Austin, July 30, 1811, Austin Papers; Mary Austin Holley to Horace Holley, October 9, 1808; September 23, 1812, Holley Papers.

In the decade following 1812 Austin's business interests were of such a nature that he divided his time between New Haven and New York. Two important circumstances concerning his life during this period can be definitely ascertained. At some time between 1813 and February 23, 1815, he was the "room mate of Robert Fulton [who was at work on a coast defense vessel, which has been characterized as the 'first steam warship'] at No. 13 Broadway."[13] And on May 8, 1814, Henry Austin, then thirty-two years of age, married Mary Tailer of Boston. When Mrs. Holley visited New Haven in the fall of 1814, she "found Mary here in tears for the departure of her husband on this morning's stage." There were six children born within the next ten years. The problem of caring for a large family was continually to prod Austin to attempt some large or unusual project which should provide an effectual means for making their future secure.[14]

2. Mexico to Texas

In the closing months of 1824 Stephen F. Austin wrote several letters to New York attempting to interest Henry and his brothers, John P. and Archibald, in the struggling but promising colonization venture in Coahuila and Texas. The immediate effect of these letters was slight. John P. Austin was a member of the well-established commission and contracting business of Austin and Tailer, and went no further than to consider sending a trading vessel to Texas; Archibald could not tear himself away from the security of a definite income "to venture upon an uncertainty"; and Henry decided to attempt the repairment of his declining fortunes in central Mexico instead of Texas.[15]

Henry Austin sailed for Mexico in January, 1825. With characteristic energy he started several different projects at Jalapa, Alvarado, Veracruz, and Nacotálpam. These enterprises included a commission business and a cotton gin, neither of which was successful. Back in New York in October, 1826, he gave the following account of the ginning venture:

[13]Austin to John C. Stevens, March 19, 1846, Fulton Papers, University of Texas; H. W. Dickinson, *Robert Fulton* (London, 1913), 260-265.

[14]Old Family Records; Mary Austin Holley to Horace Holley, September 15, 1814, Holley Papers.

[15]Archibald Austin to Stephen F. Austin, January 30, 1825, *Austin Papers*, I, 1027.

"in the latter place [Nacotálpam] I established a Cotton Gining mill and press for cleaning Cotton at the place of growth and thereby relieving the manufacturers of the tripple expence of Carriage to puebla—but the Mexican manufacturers would not spin cotton cleaned by machinery and the price for exportation would not pay which compelled me to abandon the experiment with a loss of 4000$ in a year and one half hard labor"[16]

Although he had considered coming to Austin's colony as early as 1824, and had never completely discarded the idea in the five years following, Austin's next attempt was commercial navigation on the Rio Grande. On October 24, 1829, the San Felipe *Texas Gazette* gave editorial recognition to the new venture:

"We learn by letters and travellers from Matamores, that capt HENRY AUSTIN, of New York, arrived at the mouth of the Rio Bravo [del Norte, or Rio Grande] in June last, with the STEAM-BOAT ARIEL, destined to make an experiment of steam navigation on that river.

"This is the first effort that has been attempted, to introduce this species of navigation on any of the rivers of the Mexican republic, and it displays a degree of bold adventurous enterprize highly creditable to the man who has undertaken it. . . . By the last accounts, he had successfully ascended to the town of *Revilla,* about 300 miles from the mouth, but finding the water too low to progress with safety, he declined going any higher until the spring freshets; and was running the boat between Matamores and Camargo, which part of the river is said to be navigable at all seasons.

"Whether the navigation is practicable at any time, as high as the confines of New Mexico, or even to the Paso del Norte, is quite problematical, for heretofore no species of navigation has ever been attempted, on any part of that river above . . . Matamores, not even with canoes, and this fact, presents a strong proof of the boldness of the enterprise. . . . It is to be sincerely hoped that full success may crown the efforts of Capt. A. . . ."

From the beginning the prospect was enough to discourage even such a persevering optimist as Henry Austin. Sickness disabled his crew during the fall months of 1829, the season when the boat might have been most profitably employed; Austin himself was ill during the spring months. He was further handicapped by "the crudeness of the people, who, taking his boat for a living thing, were afraid of it." And trade on the sluggish, shallow Rio Grande

[16]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, October 20, 1826, *Austin Papers,* I, 1478.

with the suspicious Mexican merchants soon disgusted this strenuous New Englander who could ill appreciate their *mañana* business methods. Although conditions had sufficiently improved by the end of May to enable him to indicate that he had made expenses during the preceding three months, he wrote that "nothing but my pride and the censure to which I should expose myself by abandoning a project of my own choosing had induced me to continue here so long." This was not quite the whole truth. He estimated the value of his Rio Grande interests to be from six to eight thousand dollars, and he hesitated to leave them in the hands of an agent. He persisted in carrying on the business until July, 1830, when he perfected arrangements to visit his cousin's colony in Texas, despite his fear, expressed only half facetiously, that the "river may dry up and prevent my departure."[17]

Austin considered that one of the chief causes for the failure of his Mexican enterprises was the character of the people with whom he had been forced to deal. He concluded that "there is such an inveterate jealousy and so much perfidy in the Mexican people that nothing conducted by a stranger can succeed if they can prevent it." A few months after he left Texas, writing in the same spirit, he said that "Mexico is truly a land of promise!! but it requires a deal of patience to wait the performance."[18] Although his experiences ingrained in him a complete distrust of all things Mexican, they did not destroy his confidence in himself; a man who could stick to the navigation of the Rio Grande for twelve months was not to be easily discouraged. He left Matamoros determined to begin some undertaking which would yield more satisfactory results.

In August, 1830, Austin reached the mouth of the Brazos in the *Ariel,* and ascended the river to Brazoria. The country that he saw *en route* impressed him favorably, especially when contrasted with the arid territory from which he had come, but cursory investigation convinced him that the prospects for a profitable steamboat business on the Brazos were poor, unless the river could be

[17]Archibald Austin to Stephen F. Austin, May 31, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 403; Austin to Stephen F. Austin, September 24, 1829, *Austin Papers,* II, 259; January 29, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 328; May 27, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 396; and July 2, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 436; Holley, Stephen F. Austin, says that Henry Austin had an exclusive franchise for steam navigation on the Rio Grande, and that the *Ariel* was the first steamboat on that river.

[18]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, January 29, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 328; October 26, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 518.

made more navigable and connected by canal with Galveston Bay.[19] Throughout the fall months he busied himself with exploring the river, and considering possible locations for a ten-league grant, for which he had made formal application to the state government. His petition of February 24, 1830, reënforced by the recommendation of the officials of the municipality of Matamoros, had based his plea for this large concession on services rendered to the commercial and agricultural development of northern Mexico. He had not only introduced steam navigation on the rivers of the country, it declared, but if the grant were allowed, he would settle his large family in Texas. In the meantime, his petition for one league of land, the normal amount allowed the head of a family, was approved and provision made for the survey. It was to be located on Austin and Flores creeks, northwest of Brazoria, and about six leagues east of the Brazos River.[20]

This did not mean that Henry Austin had definitely decided to settle in Texas. If his application for a special ten-league grant had not been eventually approved, it is doubtful that he would have decided to make Texas his permanent home. As he wrote his cousin:

"It would be folly for me to devote the remainder of my life to the occupation of a league of land.

"I must do something on an extensive scale with prospects of ultimate advantages of magnitude or do nothing, you and I may indulge our imaginations with the pleasing prospect of passing the remainder of life in the tranquility which a snug stock farm appears to offer but neither you nor I could exist in such a State."[21]

Although Henry Austin was undecided as to his future course when he left Texas for New Orleans in the late fall of 1831, a friendship with Stephen F. Austin had been formed which was to have a profound effect on his future. In September, 1830, Stephen had written his brother-in-law, James F. Perry:

"I expect Henry Austin here . . . and on the first interview with him I shall tell him of this part of my habits so that he

[19]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, August 25, 1830, *Austin Papers*, II, 473.

[20]*Texas Gazette* (San Felipe), September 6, 1830; Spanish Archives, VII, 59-61; VIII, 505, in General Land Office, Austin.

[21]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, October 20, 1830, *Austin Papers*, II, 518.

may not be misled as you were and think I am cool because I am not a great talker . . ."[22]

There is no doubt that the empresario succeeded in gaining his cousin's respect and good will, because when Henry Austin was preparing to sail for New Orleans, he fixed the bond of friendship with the following words addressed to Stephen F. Austin:

"May god bless you and enable you to bring your troublesome enterprise to a favorable close.

"Wherever I may be you can always rely upon me in any matter in which I can be usefull to you."[23]

The *Ariel* never reached New Orleans. Four of the crew deserted; a part of the provisions spoiled; and the vessel, being nearly wrecked on the Brazos bar, put to sea in a damaged condition. Two cannon had been left at Brazoria to lighten its draft, but the addition of wood and supplies for the run to New Orleans nearly resulted in disaster on the shallow, treacherous bar at the mouth of the river.[24] After three "fruitless attempts" to reach the United States, the ship put back into Galveston Bay and Buffalo Bayou, reaching Harrisburg on December 29. The boat was practically disabled, "leaking badly & her chimney blown away." Austin, who was "obliged to write with gloves on, both hands being wounded," wrote S. M. Williams that he would leave the *Ariel* in the hands of some responsible person, and take passage on the first vessel sailing for New Orleans. His ship "was laid up to rot in the San Jacinto [River]."[25]

Henry Austin's stay in New Orleans began with a period of anxious waiting for news concerning the disposition of his petition for a special ten-league grant. Governor José María Viesca approved the application on February 9, 1831, but the news did not reach the grantee until April 2. He immediately began to make

[22]Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, September 22, 1830, *Austin Papers*, II, 493.

[23]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, October 20, 1830, *Austin Papers*, II, 519.

[24]*Ibid.;* Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, December 14, 1830, *Austin Papers*, II, 555; Stephen F. Austin to S. M. Williams, March 21, 1832, *Austin Papers*, II, 759; April 28, 1832, *Austin Papers*, II, 768.

[25]Austin to S. M. Williams, December 31, 1830, Williams Papers, Rosenberg Library, Galveston; Fiske (?), *A Visit to Texas*, 153; Mary Austin Holley, Stephen F. Austin; Thrall, *History of Texas* (St. Louis, 1879), 496.

preparations to sail for Texas, although he did not leave for more than six weeks.[26]

He had the good fortune to find Mrs. Mary Austin Holley, his widowed sister, in New Orleans. Mrs. Holley—personable, exceptionally well educated, and not unaware of her charms of person and intellect—was a tutor in the wealthy Labranche family. Having seen the letters and pamphlets which Stephen F. Austin had sent to New York, she was already considering the advantages of Texas as a permanent home. The meeting with her brother served to arouse her enthusiasm for Texas, not only because of the possibility of securing a comfortable independence, but also because the colony might well become a means of uniting the scattered Austin family, "like the ingathering of the Jews."[27] In the meantime Stephen F. Austin wrote his secretary to save choice locations of land for Henry and Mrs. Holley, "who will remove to the Colony next fall certain and be the most valuable acquisition we have ever received, in the female line, or probably will receive."[28]

During the time Henry Austin spent in New Orleans, he was engaged in a variety of tasks. He succeeded in obtaining from the Mexican consul an interpretation of his instructions concerning the Mexican national immigration law of April 6, 1830, which would permit continued immigration to Austin's colony.[29] He spent much time in the consideration of various large-scale projects relating to the development of the colony, but the prematurity of the schemes and the difficulty of obtaining capital proved to be insuperable obstacles. In his personal preparations for settlement, he was handicapped by attacks of a constantly recurring fever and an embarrassing lack of funds. It is "as much of a job," he wrote, "as it used to be to prepare for an India voyage. It is hard work to do but little when one has nothing but his wits to work with." It was not until May 16 that he was able to write his sister he expected to sail within the next two days.[30]

[26]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, March 30, 1831, *Austin Papers*, II, 634; Spanish Archives, VIII, 505, in General Land Office, Austin.

[27]Holley to Harriette Brand, March 11, 1831, Holley Papers; Holley to Stephen F. Austin, January 2, 1831, *Austin Papers*, II, 571.

[28]Stephen F. Austin to S. M. Williams, April 2, 1831, *Austin Papers*, II, 638.

[29]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, March 30, 1831, *Austin Papers*, II, 632.

[30]Austin to Holley, May 16, 1831, Henry Austin Papers; Austin to Stephen F. Austin, March 30, 1831, *Austin Papers*, II, 634; Holley to Harriette Brand, March 11, 1831, Holley Papers.

Austin brought to Texas an experience broadened by contact with different types of men and by a few successes and many reversals in distant parts of the world. But above all he had a profound belief in the future of the newly settled region; the next wave of population would certainly make the pioneer rich. He was confident that his brother Archibald had expressed a well-founded hope when he had written to Stephen F. Austin:

"he [Henry Austin] has traversed the world, beat the Bush in every Hemisphere, contended with almost unexampled perseverance, with the freaks of fortune, had a fortune at various times as it were in his grasp, and . . . Blocade, Wars, and peace have so intervened as [to] distroy his well founded hopes of success . . . I will yet hope, that there is some good fortune in store for him—"[31]

3. Domestic Relations

Before Henry Austin could bring his family to Texas, it was necessary that provision be made for their reception. His first concern, therefore, was to select the location of his ten leagues, in addition to his first league, the site of which had been designated on his initial visit to Austin's Colony. The tracts were scattered over the counties of Brazoria, Washington, Fayette, and Colorado, and were, he considered, excellent for grazing, cotton, and timber. In July Austin wrote his family and Mrs. Holley advising them to come to Texas before December 1, when Stephen F. Austin planned to leave for Saltillo. Hence it was necessary that a location for a permanent home be selected and buildings erected at once. A point on the Brazos, called Bolivar, situated about thirty-five miles south of San Felipe, was chosen.

"The land in and about Bolivar [said a contemporary account] is the best in the colony; clothed with heavy timber, with peach and cane undergrowth, to the distance of six miles from the river. The bank of the river in front of the town [?] is a high bluff of stiff red clay. . . .

"At Bolivar, the timber tract is five or six miles wide and the road to the prairie is walled in with tall cane filling all the space between the trees. . . . There is a live oak tree in Bolivar, sixteen feet in circumference, and keeps this size more than

[31]Archibald Austin to Stephen F. Austin, September 5, 1830, *Austin Papers*, II, 478.

thirty feet from the ground. It then spreads out its enormous branches."[32]

Although Austin was "quite sick" throughout most of the summer months because of over-exertion and the strain of the trying climate, he made every effort to make Bolivar ready for his family. Five men were employed to erect his buildings; an old negro purchased for eighty dollars proved to be such an excellent gardener that he was considered "well worth three times the cost"; and Mrs. Holley, who arrived in October, aided in making "the rough places smooth." It was not until November 28 that he received news that the *Nelson,* two weeks overdue from New York, had been able to slip over the bar at the mouth of the Brazos River, and that his wife and children were safe ashore. He set out to meet them in the face of a bitter, cold rain, which had caused him to write, just before leaving, "My fingers and Ideas are froze up."[33]

Henry Austin had reason to be proud of his children; they were a well governed, cheerful, and healthy group. Stephen F. Austin wrote that "a more lovely or beautiful family than Henry's I have never seen in all my life—" Mrs. Holley said:

"You never saw more lovely children. The youngest of the six a boy [Henry] of four years, is compared to wax work, his skin is so fair, his cheeks so red, his eyes so black, & his hair such beautiful auburn."

The remaining boys were James and Edward Tailer; the girls were Emily, Henrietta, and Mary, the eldest, sixteen years of age and a *"pretty little blue-eyed Mexican."*[34]

December, 1831, was a busy month at Bolivar. Furniture and household effects brought on the *Nelson* and the schooner *Elizabeth* made the Austin residence more than comfortably furnished for the Texas of that day, but still a contrast between the primitive and the luxurious.

"New York furniture adorned the puncheon-floored rooms; New York China was spread on the white board tables; nothing

[32]Holley, *Texas* (Baltimore, 1833), 50, 61; Austin to Stephen F. Austin, October 20, 1830, *Austin Papers,* II, 517; Austin to Holley, July 22, 1831, Henry Austin Papers.

[33]Austin to Holley, September 19, 1831, Henry Austin Papers, Austin to Stephen F. Austin, November 28, 1831, *Austin Papers,* II, 714.

[34]Holley to Brand, January 6, 1832; April 5, 1832, Holley Papers.

so fine had been seen in Texas; The chairs in use had seats of raw hide and deer skins, everything was primitive."[35]

In the midst of the "fixing of . . . a new place, arranging furniture &c," Mrs. Holley wrote a book entitled *Texas,* which had as its chief purpose the promotion of emigration to the colony. In its preparation, her brother and Stephen F. Austin, a guest in the home, gave generous aid and advice. She acknowledged her indebtedness in a letter to Orville Holley, her brother-in-law, written on December 24, 1831:

"I have not only had the benefit of my own observation and experience, but I have had the assistance of Col. Austin and my brother Henry to whom it has been read sheet by sheet as written. No other individuals are so well acquainted with the subject."

The comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the empresario, combined with the unstinted optimism of her brother, provided her with an ample background for this book, which Raines said was the "first history of Texas in English."[36]

Stephen F. Austin spent more than a week at Bolivar early in December. There was music, conversation with congenial minds, and the laughter of Henry's children, all of which provided an unusually pleasurable experience for a man who had long wished for such contacts but had been forced to forbear in order to hasten the colonization of Texas.

"I need a social circle—[he wrote to Mrs. Holley, shortly before she returned to the United States] a few friends of congenial tastes the want of which left a void. That void is being filled. My sister's family and Henry's, and Archibald's and you—my friend, you,—how shall I ever thank you for venturing into this wilderness—how express the happiness of the ten days visit at Henry's—his family so lovely and blooming and cheerful, and his own tall figure and sea-beaten countenance smiling over them? Yes we will be happy."[37]

But the frontier began to take its inevitable toll. In the summer of 1832 a wave of sickness spread over the Brazoria community, resulting in the death of several colonists, among whom

[35]Holley, Stephen F. Austin.

[36]C. W. Raines, *A Bibliography of Texas* (Austin, 1896), 116.

[37]Stephen F. Austin to Holley, December 29, 1831, *Austin Papers,* II, 728.

was Henry Austin's wife, Mary Tailer Austin. She died on August 2, 1832, and was buried on the following day, her husband being "very much afflicted with his loss."[38] The outlook for the motherless Austin family was dark during the winter of 1832-1833. Several members of the family, including Henry, became sick; and financial troubles multiplied. Stephen F. Austin had many misgivings about the situation, because he felt that the misfortunes which had beset his cousin were partially the result of the enthusiastic encouragement which he had given him to settle in Texas:

"I do not know [he wrote to Mrs. Holley] that, in the whole course of my life I have so sensibly felt the extremes which ardent and sanguine temperaments are liable to, as during the last eighteen months. . . . The calamity which Henry has suffered by the loss of his wife, and by sickness is truly distressing. I am convinced from numerous examples that persons raised in cities ought never to remove to a new and thinly settled country."[39]

When Mrs. Holley heard the "melancholy intelligence" of the death of her brother's wife, her reaction was one of pity for him and his children. "Poor man," she wrote to her daughter, "how misfortunes are heaped upon him . . . I almost dread to hear he is not living, with such accumulated trials . . . Think of those poor young girls!" When Henry wrote that he was determined to bring his children to the United States, Mrs. Holley translated her sympathy into concrete form by offering to keep them in Lexington if he would furnish a thousand dollars a year for their upkeep. He decided to accept her offer, although his inability to raise money made it impossible to send his children, now five in number since the death of Mary, to her home in Kentucky, until the summer of 1835.[40]

Austin was thus confronted with the task of raising funds for the support of his children. In the fall of 1835 he believed that despite the failure of his cotton crop, he would be able to send Mrs. Holley money in a few months, but a trip to the United States in the spring and summer of 1836 only piled up more

[38]Henry Morse to James F. Perry, August 5, 1832, *Austin Papers*, II, 832.
[39]Stephen F. Austin to Holley, April 20, 1833, *Austin Papers*, II, 954.
[40]Holley to Brand, November 10, 1832; December 19, 1833, Holley Papers.

debts. He found that his sister's straitened circumstances had compelled her to open a boarding house. The death of Stephen F. Austin in December, 1836, deprived him of support from his cousin, who had promised to let Mrs. Holley have what she needed from the receipts of the sale of two leagues of land. Fear crowded after consternation. "I have been half crazed with anxiety the last two months, through fear that you would suffer for want of money," he wrote in February. "I shall leave no stone unturned to send you money." Immediate urgency often conflicted with his better judgment, because he felt that the lands which he was forced to sell at low prices would have provided a substantial estate for his children. "It is cruel," he wrote in April, 1837, after he had finally been able to send his sister a draft for one thousand dollars, "to be obliged to sacrifice property worth 100,000$ to my children to get 10 a [to] 15,000."[41]

Mrs. Holley and her nieces, Henrietta and Emily, made a trip to Texas in December, 1837. A stay of several months gave Mrs. Holley an opportunity to observe just what difficulties her brother had to undergo in raising money, her sympathy being aroused to such an extent that she wrote: "My poor brother is so worried in various ways that I am afraid for his life; & should he die & I not be here, I would not give a snap for it all. . . . He has no interest seperate from mine."[42]

Just before his daughters returned to the United States with their aunt, Henry Austin secured a renewed taste of the home life for which he had so assiduously striven throughout his stay in Texas. He had a part of his family about him at his home for the first time in three years. His financial worries were eased because "Bolivar junior" had "sold marvellously to the amount of $4,000," and prospects appeared bright for a sale of Bolivar town lots at Houston on April 28. His daughters saw to his personal comfort; Emily kept house, while Henrietta waited on her father. The table was plentifully supplied with venison, rabbit, and fish. The plantation itself assumed a restful aspect; "Bolivar looks pleasanter to me than ever it did," wrote Mrs. Holley, "full of

[41]Austin to Holley, November 27, 1835; November 8, 1836; February 27, 1837; April 8, 1837; April 23, 1837, Henry Austin Papers; Holley to Stephen F. Austin, June 1, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 362.

[42]Holley to Brand, March 21, 1838, Holley Papers.

roses & peach trees grown into a thicket . . . our monthly roses are high & larger than hogsheads." Perhaps this pleasant interlude, this brief association with his sister and daughters served to revive Austin's courage.[43]

Austin needed a reanimation of spirit, for his troubles seemed endlessly cumulative. In April, 1839, he wrote Mrs. Holley a letter which revealed the strain under which he had been working, and must have marked the end of the intimate confidence which had existed between them for nearly ten years:

"I have had a frightful winter of it I left here [Houston] the day before Christmas to return after the holidays and remained here until I could effect sales enough to clear myself and escape from the detestable country—a frightful ride through Ice, Mud, and water, on a Siberian day, combined with the over action of an intensely anxious mind upon the nervous system, brought on first nervous, then Rheumatic, and lastly congestive fever, which confined me to the house for two months . . .

"Where has the money for your own and your sons expenses as well as my children's the last four years come from, but out of my estate and exertion?

"I have realized the last three years 22,000 dollars Cash for some of my best property, sacrificed at less than half its value, and you my sister, and the Usurers of whom I horrowed money, to send you at 33 or 50 p^{r} cent p^{r} annum have had it all . . .

"My plan is to remit them [my children] money to go to the North, the moment I get it, but God only knows when that will be . . .

"Mine and your taxes this year will be near 800$ God knows where I am to get it . . . My estate is assessed at the taxable value of 81,000$ Yet I am a beggar so far as money is concerned . . .

"The Crisis of the fate of Texas seems impending.

"Matters must soon be much better or much worse . . .

"I have a frightful cold and am half blind—"[44]

His attitude toward his children is also strikingly illustrated in a later letter:

"Whilst making immense sacrifices to furnish you with money I was consoled with the hope that my children were happy I beg you will prevent them from suffering for a few months . . . At all events my children cannot suffer more than their father does . . ."[45]

[43]Holley to Brand, April 4, 1838, Holley Papers.

[44]Austin to Holley, April 8, 1839, Henry Austin Papers.

[45]Austin to Holley, September 28, 1839, Henry Austin Papers.

Austin's sons returned to Texas in November, 1840; his daughters came at a later date. James Austin, a boy of seventeen, joined the Texas army and was killed on Christmas Day, 1842, in a dramatic incident at the battle of Mier. Henry Austin, Jr., died in Nice, France; Edward T. Austin, later a Galveston lawyer and real estate dealer, married Marie Estelle Hebert, and became the father of seven children. Henrietta and Emily, charming in personality and well developed in mind, never married.[46] It is not unreasonable to assume that they did much toward compensating their father for arduous exertions in their behalf by giving him affectionate care and physical comfort. In spite of his numerous voyages Austin was essentially a family man. Love for his children and realization of responsibility for their future—a responsibility which became especially acute after the death of his wife—was undoubtedly the predominant passion of his later years, and provided the principal motive for his lengthy, pertinacious struggle to keep his estate intact.

4. Political Relations

Austin's participation in politics was confined to a support, usually passive, of those policies which would make for early and peaceful economic stability. At the beginning of his residence in Texas two considerations effectually limited his political activities. His age caused him to realize that he must devote himself to the attainment of financial security for himself and his family. And his very name made it all the more necessary that he make no attempt to play a leading rôle in governmental affairs. "The mass of the Colonists" were suspicious and jealous of all relatives of Stephen F. Austin, because "they suspect that something more will be done for *them* than for those who *'bore the brunt* of the Battle.' "[47]

His only part—and that was indirect—in the friction which developed shortly after 1830 between the Anglo-American colonists

[46]T. J. Green, *Journal of the Texian Expedition Against Mier* (New York, 1845), 92; V. E. Austin to M. A. Hatcher, December 29, 1930, Henry Austin Papers; Henrietta Austin Cunningham to M. A. Hatcher, April 2, 1932, Henry Austin Papers; *Galveston Directory*, 1856-7, ii, 4.

[47]Stephen F. Austin to Holley, November 14, 1831, *Austin Papers*, II, 701. M. B. Lamar, "Historical and Biographical Notes," in Harriet Smither (ed.), *Lamar Papers* (Austin, 1921), VI, 172, gives evidence of the same nature.

and the Mexican military and civil officials, was found in his bringing to Texas the two cannon which were used by the colonists at the battle of Velasco, fought on June 26, 1832. These guns had formed a part of the equipment of his steamboat *Ariel,* in which he had first visited Austin's Colony in August, 1830, and were left at Brazoria in care of John Austin, to be sent to New York, or sold for not less than one hundred and fifty dollars. After Colonel Bradburn, commander of the Mexican garrison at Anahuac, had refused to buy the cannon, they were purchased by Brazoria citizens to be used in signalling vessels approaching the mouth of the Brazos.[48]

In the three years preceding the Texas Revolution, Henry Austin consistently allied himself with the "peace party," the group that favored a very conciliatory policy toward Mexico with recourse to war only as a final resort. Not only did his land interests influence him to oppose any step toward rebellion, the mere suggestion of which might mean a "dead stopper to immigration and Sales of land," but he was following the repeated advice of Stephen F. Austin, who believed that a premature outbreak would be ruinous to the best interests of the colonists.[49] In the fall of 1834 he aided James F. Perry and Thomas F. McKinney in successfully stirring up latent public sentiment in the Brazos Department against a proposed convention to set up a provisional state government, separate from Coahuila. The friends of Stephen F. Austin, who had been under arrest in Mexico since early January, opposed this convention, chiefly because of its probable unfavorable effect on the movement for his release.[50] In the following May Henry Austin wrote an article for the *Texas Republican* of Brazoria in which he maintained that the attitude of the national government was becoming more favorable to Texas, quoting from Stephen

[48]Horatio Chriesman to Political Chief, April 26, 1832, Nacogdoches Archives, LXII, 2, 34, University of Texas; Stephen F. Austin to S. M. Williams, March 21, 1832; April 28, 1832; *Austin Papers,* II, 759, 768; Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville, 1926), 386-388. L. J. Wortham, *History of Texas* (Fort Worth, 1924), II, 20, states that the cannon were brought to Texas on the *Sabine,* but Peter Molyneaux, who was associated with Wortham, concluded in a later publication ("Westward to the Sea," in *Texas Monthly,* IV, 230) that the cannon came on the *Ariel.*

[49]Stephen F. Austin to Henry Austin, April 19, 1833, *Austin Papers,* II, 953; to James F. Perry, January 16, 1834, *Austin Papers,* II, 1038.

[50]Austin to Perry, November 14, 1834, *Austin Papers,* III, 26; Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin,* 469.

F. Austin's most recent letter to prove that separate statehood was an imminent possibility. In regard to the claim that it was the intention of the government to annihilate Austin's Colony after forming Texas into a territory, an argument advanced by the anonymous *Coahuiltexanus* in the *Texas Republican* of the previous week, Henry Austin wrote Perry that "this is all *stuff* Stephens last letter gives the lie to all of it—"[51] Finally, he took an important part in two public meetings held at Columbia on June 23 and June 28, 1835. In the first he led a successful opposition to a radical resolution to endorse the sending of troops to uphold the state government in its contest then in progress with the federal forces; and he and Perry so aroused the conservatives that the second meeting adopted very moderate resolutions, including one of conditional fidelity to Mexico.[52] He followed this course of action until Stephen F. Austin was released and returned to Texas on September 1, 1835.

During his cousin's absence, Henry Austin had faithfully stood for those principles which he believed the empresario would have upheld. He was relieved, along with the whole population of Texas, when Stephen F. Austin returned, and rode "all night through the swamp & rain" to meet him at the Perry home. The "peace party" had succeeded in keeping Texas quiet until his arrival, he wrote, "with the exception of a few acts of the War Party, not compromising the whole people." And now Stephen F. Austin, with a certain knowledge of the intentions of the Mexican government, would be able to unite all parties in the most rational line of conduct.[53]

At a dinner given in his honor on September 8, Stephen F. Austin announced his support of a proposal of the radical group at Columbia to hold a consultation, or convention of representatives of all the people, to meet on October 15 at Washington on the Brazos. After his cousin had set the tone of the dinner by a speech and toast in favor of the consultation, Henry Austin, among others, gave toasts in the same tenor. The first was indicative of his political philosophy: "The people of Texas, may they show

[51]*Texas Republican*, May 2, May 9, 1835; Austin to Perry, May 5, 1835, *Austin Papers*, III, 70.

[52]Austin to Perry, June 24, 1835, *Austin Papers*, III, 77; *Texas Republican*, June 27, July 4, 1835; Wortham, *History of Texas*, II, 216-218.

[53]Austin to Holley, September 10, 1835, *Austin Papers*, III, 116.

as much energy, ability and valor in defending sound Republican constitutional principles and privileges, as they have shown in subduing the wilderness, cultivating the soil, and defending it from the savages." His next probably had reference to Stephen F. Austin: "Texas, when the myrmidons of despotism assail her, may she find a Washington amongst her sons to defend her." His final toast may indicate, perhaps, that conviviality was not lacking at the dinner: "The Ladies, God bless them, they expect us at a ball to night, and require every man to keep himself in condition for duty."[54] Apparently a number succeeded in "keeping in condition for duty."

"a Grand Dinner and Ball [Henry Austin wrote] were got up for the occasion on two days notice in a manner very creditable to the Committee and host—the only thing I did not like was 7$ a head for ball & supper & 30 more for a decent suit of clothes which I had not & could have done without There were 60 covers and despite the short notice the table was three times filled by men alone In the evening the long room filled to a Jam at least 60 to 80 ladies who danced the sun up and the Oyster Creek girls would not have quit then had not the room been wanted for breakfast— You never saw such enthusiasm"

In this manner did Texas celebrate its united recognition of the approach of a war which had become "all but inevitable."[55]

There is no record to show that Henry Austin participated in the military movements of the Texas Revolution. He had unlimited confidence in the eventual success of the Texas arms, a confidence born of the contempt of Mexicans acquired in his stay in Mexico. He believed in the essential justice of the revolutionary cause. And yet in March, 1836, as the Texas army was in full retreat before the Mexican forces, he went to the United States and did not return until the following October. In the minds of many of his contemporaries, the simple fact of the absence of any large landholder was enough to condemn him.[56] But the gravest charge that might have been brought against him in this connection was that his action was at least ill considered in view of his relationship with Stephen F. Austin, who was constantly in the

[54]*Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835.

[55]Austin to Holley, September 10, 1835, *Austin Papers*, III, 120; Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin*, 480.

[56]*Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), November 11, 1836.

public eye. Stephen F. Austin did not mince words in a letter of June 27, 1836:

"My sister came down here [Velasco] the other day to embark for Orleans, but the vessel did not sail . . . it was the panic caused by the flight of families last spring which came so near to losing Texas, and if *my* sister goes, it will have its influence on many others—I wish all of my name and connection to stay in Texas and abide the issue what it may—Your children . . . must remain . . . in Lexington but *you* ought to be HERE"[57]

On the other hand, Henry Austin, whose early enterprises had shown that he was by no means a physical coward, was never able to convince himself that he was deserving of censure because he left Texas. His age and fast-failing health made it improbable that he could have been of much value in the field operations of the army; he had sent two of his employees, armed, equipped, and mounted at his expense, to join the Texas troops; and it was necessary, he thought, to go to the United States in order to raise money for his needy family in Kentucky.[58] In New Orleans he not only advanced a hundred dollars from his meagre funds in order that the schooner *Independence* might not be lost to the service on account of the non-payment of debts, but he also made numerous speeches in behalf of Texas.[59] Finally, he wrote several letters to various public officials in Texas in which he urged that the provisional government should make constant efforts to meet its financial obligations, especially to the Texan agents in New Orleans, because, said he, "public credit like a woman's reputation once lost is seldom regained, never without time and difficulty." He was prompted to write these letters "by the conviction that it is the duty of every citizen to do spontaneously whatever he may believe to be serviceable in any degree to the community of which he is a member."[60]

Before Stephen F. Austin's death on December 27, 1836, Henry Austin rendered him a service of note by using his influence to prevent him from becoming associated in the promotion of the

[57]Stephen F. Austin to Austin, June 27, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 371.

[58]Austin to Holley, March 29, 1836, Henry Austin Papers.

[59]Austin to Holley, November 8, 1836, Henry Austin Papers; to M. B. Lamar, March 29, 1839, *Lamar Papers*, II, 502.

[60]Austin to Asa Brigham and J. S. D. Byrom, March 31, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 320; to David G. Burnet, April 7, 1836, in Bryan, Hall, and Ellis, *A Vindication* (New Orleans, 1836), 15.

Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company. The projectors of this venture proposed to connect the Rio Grande and Sabine rivers by means of canals and railroads, and to establish a banking system "after the fashion of the Second Bank of the United States, whose career was then closing."[61] They were anxious to have Stephen F. Austin become one of the stockholders, and perhaps president, "it being deemed that such a course would inspire public confidence in the project."[62] When he became sick in the latter part of December, Stephen F. Austin had this proposition under consideration. George L. Hammeken visited him on December 23, and found Henry Austin his only attendant.

"Christmas (Sunday) he seemed so much better that Capt. Henry Austin, who was the only friend I found with him, advised him to be shaved and have his linen changed, and brought him out of the little room where his bed was (which room was enclosed with clapboards, very open and without a fire-place or stove) and placed him on a pallet before the fire. This was in the morning—the weather was mild and pleasant. About 10 o'clock a strong norther came on, and it turned very cold—we put him to bed again, at his request.

"Shortly after he was in bed two papers were brought to him for his signature—one of which Capt. Austin read; the other I read—after finishing it, I observed to Capt. Austin, 'he must not sign this'—'nor this either," replied he. 'Go in and tell him so.' "[63]

Henry Austin and Hammeken persuaded the dying Stephen F. Austin to relinquish his interest in this venture, and they thereby did much to preserve his future fame, especially for the generation then living. During the election campaign of 1836 Stephen F. Austin had been accused of being connected with the unsavory Monclova land speculations, which "were a stench in the nostrils of the average citizen." Even though this charge was manifestly unjust, it was necessary that no similar accusation should connect him with the Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company, which was also subjected to violent public criticism.

[61]C. S. Potts, *Railroad Transportation in Texas* (Austin, 1909), 23; H. P. N. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1188.

[62]M. B. Lamar, "Historical and Biographical Notes," *Lamar Papers*, VI, 177.

[63]George L. Hammeken, "Recollections of Stephen F. Austin," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XX, 378; M. B. Lamar, "Historical and Biographical Notes," *Lamar Papers*, VI, 177, gives Henry Austin sole credit for dissuading Stephen F. Austin from becoming connected with

After his cousin's death, Henry Austin, on behalf of the executor, James F. Perry, drew up a detailed report of all the land and colonization business of the empresario. The Texas Senate had requested such a statement on October 18, 1836. Stephen F. Austin had begun its preparation a few days thereafter, but his duties as Secretary of State had prevented him from making much progress before his death. Henry Austin spent most of 1837 completing the record, which he and Perry presented to the Senate in late September. The report, which showed the amount and location of the lands received by each of fifteen hundred and forty colonists, had manifestly involved a considerable amount of labor. The Senate passed a resolution thanking Henry Austin and Perry "for the care and ability with which they had responded to the call of the Senate for an expose of Empresario contracts"; the Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register* not only printed the report in full, but editorially commended it "as being well worthy of being preserved with the national annals as proud momentos of the high merit of the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY."[64]

Although Henry Austin hoped that the publication of this report would raise land values in Texas—always a consideration of primary interest to him—he also believed that in justice to the reputation of his kinsman, the work required prompt attention.[65] Thus even after the empresario's death, he ably and fittingly carried out his policy of backing his cousin in the task of colonizing the Texas wilderness. Whatever claim he may have to historical importance must be derived from his connection with Stephen F. Austin, who had few enough dependable friends and supporters.

5. Struggle for an Estate

Like many other colonists, Henry Austin was forced to concentrate his energies in attempting to retain his property until

the company. However, neither Henry Austin nor Hammeken were averse to becoming connected with companies of the same general type (Second Congress Documents, File 7, No. 650; File 8, No. 715, 716, Texas State Library).

[64]Stephen F. Austin to S. H. Everett, October 22, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 437; Austin to Perry, October 6, 1837, Austin Papers; "Resolution of Thanks to J. F. Perry and Henry Austin," November 4, 1837, Austin Papers; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, December 2, 1837.

[65]Austin to Dr. Robert Peebles, January 28, 1837, Austin Papers; to Holley, November 4, 1837, Henry Austin Papers. For Stephen F. Austin's estimation of the difficulty of obtaining someone to do this work, see his letter to Perry, October 25, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 438.

the expected rise in land values. A league of land may have been of "less consequence than a horse," but he concurred in the oversanguine opinion of Stephen F. Austin, who wrote to him in 1833: "A few years, or I think one year more will set everything right, and give more value to our lands."[66] However, from the beginning he was forced to resort to drastic measures to raise money, even calling upon his friends for assistance. In response to an appeal from his cousin, Stephen F. Austin cancelled his settlement fees and aided in payment of his surveying accounts. In February, 1834, Edmund Andrews, Brazoria merchant, was attempting to make a sale of land for Henry Austin "to help him out." But still Austin remained hopeful in the face of continued hardships. In November this was especially evident in a letter to James F. Perry: "all is going well and will come out well, if we can keep from starving mean time which I find it difficult to do." Perry relayed this news to Stephen F. Austin, then in a Mexican prison: "Cap[t] Henry Austin . . . gets along but badly in Texas."[67]

Henry Austin had more than a touch of the fever of speculalation so characteristic of the Texas frontier; in spite of the financial difficulties in which he was involved, he was constantly acquiring more property for himself and his sister. The method he generally followed was that of paying the fees on a league of land for a destitute colonist, with less credit at the land office than himself, and receiving half of the league in return. He engaged in this type of transaction from 1831 to May, 1835, when the negotiation of a loan of three thousand dollars enabled him to pay his account at the land office. He considered it a good business policy, in anticipation of more prosperous times, to borrow money in order to obtain more land.[68]

The events of the next twelve months, however, only intensified his need to convert land into ready cash. He found himself unable to sell his home, in which so much pride had been taken;

[66]Noah Smithwick, *Evolution of a State* (Austin, 1900), 37; Stephen F. Austin to Austin, April 20, 1833, *Austin Papers*, II, 958.

[67]Austin to Perry, November 24, 1834, *Austin Papers*, III, 29; Perry to Stephen F. Austin, December 7, 1834, *Austin Papers*, III, 34.

[68]Austin to Holley, July 22, 1831, Henry Austin Papers; Austin in Account with McKinstry and Austin, January 6, 1832, *Austin Papers*, II, 931; Austin to Gail Borden, Jr., April 8, 1835; May 8, 1835, Austin Papers.

his crops failed for two successive seasons "by frost & Cattle," rain, and a labor supply depleted by war-time demands; and interest charges on his loans were coming due. Late in March, 1836, he embarked for New Orleans, in order, he said, "to meet Stephen, raise money, send provisions, and return with all possible dispatch."[69]

Before the end of June, 1836, Austin secured sufficient funds to enable him to make a four months trip to Kentucky and Virginia. In making this trip, he had three purposes in mind: to see his family, restore his shattered health, and make a large sale of land. On July 3 he was in Lexington, visiting his children and sister;[70] three weeks later he was at Blue Sulphur Springs, a Virginia summer resort. He wrote that "the disease is yet in possession" in spite of two weeks spent at various bathing places. He could not afford to stay in the exclusive hotels, and in consequence experienced difficulty in making acquaintances. His embarrassment and wounded pride were reflected in a letter to his sister, written in a half-ironical spirit:

"Of all the watering places this is the first I have found in Buckram where no man speaks to another without an introduction and no Gentleman may be introduced to a lady until he has established by sufficient testimony that he is worth fifty thousand dollars in Negroes, productive land or cash—Surely the very air of Virginia is aristocratic. It seems to have discovered that I am a plebian and chills my blood with its cold *hauteur*."[71]

Circumstances prevailing in the United States in the fall of 1836 rendered it impossible for Austin to negotiate a loan or sale of land. He found that the "credit of Texas public and private seems to be entirely prostrate." To make matters worse, an order for specie payments at the land offices caused an "unprecedented pressure for money." In fact, many American banks, including those in New Orleans, found it difficult to continue in business. In October Austin summarized the results of his trip to the United States:

"The Texas fever has subsided all over the country and I have

[69]*Texas Republican*, June 20, 1835; Austin to Perry, March 5, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 318.

[70][Joseph Ficklin. or J. M. McCalla?] to [Stephen F. Austin?] July 3, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 377.

[71]Austin to Holley, July 26, 1836, Henry Austin Papers.

found myself unable to raise money for the expenses of my family on any terms, or to sell land at any rate . . . any person offering Texas lands ['in the upper country'] either for sale or as security ran great hazard of being considered a swindler."[72]

On his return to Texas Austin discovered that the plantation had suffered little from "the ravages of the enemy." His furniture, negroes, and livestock were safe. In addition, one of his employees had set up a tavern and a ferry at Bolivar which provided him a small income. But the revenue from the farm, tavern, and ferry barely sufficed to meet his incidental expenses; his correspondence during the latter part of 1836 and the year following is filled with accounts of his frantic endeavors to sell land. A draft on "C. Adams of New Orleans" for a thousand dollars came back protested; a prospective sale of six hundred acres of his Bolivar plantation to a "railroad concern" for twelve thousand dollars was not completed; and in the spring of 1837 he found it necessary to pay five per cent interest per month on a hundred dollars in order to pay traveling expenses. On April 8 he sold half a league of land for two thousand dollars, but less than seven months later he was borrowing at a rate of ten per cent per month.[73]

Austin promoted a sale of town lots at Bolivar in April, 1838. This was one of many attempts, especially numerous in the fall of 1837 and the spring of 1838, to arouse a speculative interest in incipient Texas towns. Lots could be purchased for fifty to five hundred dollars, with all or three-fourths payable in six to twelve months. The country was "town mad," despite the fact that, according to Austin, "such scarcity of and distress for money was never seen in any part of the world." Many prospective towns such as Bolivar, Oregon, Manhattan, Dollar Point, and Powhatan, had fine preliminary sales but failed to develop because of the continued pressure for money. The fate of Bolivar became apparent in April, 1839, when Henry Austin was in Houston "to collect town lot notes payable in good money" from the purchasers of Bolivar locations. He reported that "not a man of

[72]Austin to Stephen F. Austin, October 7, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 433; October 10, 1836, *Austin Papers*, III, 434.

[73]Austin to Holley, November 8, 1836; March 10, 1837, April 8, 1837; April 12, 1837; November 4, 1837, Henry Austin Papers.

them can pay me a dollar."[74] The winter of 1838-1839 found Austin still desperately in need of cash. In November he sacrificed a choice league of land for six thousand dollars, of which twenty-two hundred dollars was collected by the end of January. Half of this amount went to support his children; the remainder served to cancel a portion of his debts. He sold his furniture and discharged his servants. A small additional income was secured from his home at Bolivar, once more converted into a "public house." However, these measures did not provide him with enough money to escape the "mortification of suffering" the sale of five hundred acres of his Flores Creek land to satisfy a judgment of $187. After passing a "frightful winter," he went to Houston in March, but found that no money, "not even treasury shin plasters," was in circulation. The only available currency was in the hands of a "few shylocks," who used it to lend at one per cent per day. He could obtain no offer for land near Houston which had formerly sold for thirty dollars per acre. His only resource, he wrote, was to sacrifice his "funded debt at one quarter part the cost, to get money enough to pay . . . expenses here and back home again."[75]

Although Austin supplemented his income with a meagre law practice during the next two years,[76] his continuous need for money led him to make another attempt to raise funds in New York and the Mississippi Valley. But he found that "the Mexican official declaration of another invasion of Texas, renders Texas property and securities utterly unavailable." After brief visits in Baltimore and New York, he made a return trip across Ohio, and thence down the Mississippi to New Orleans, but he "effected nothing," he wrote, by this "tedious and painful route." He returned to Texas in the fall of 1839, believing that he would have a better chance to find a market for his land there than in the United States.[77]

[74]Holley to Brand, December 30, 1837; April 4, 1837, Holley Papers; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, April 25, 1838; Austin to Holley, April 24, 1838, Henry Austin Papers.

[75]Austin to Holley, November 21, 1838; April 8, 1839, Henry Austin Papers.

[76]*Morning Star* (Houston), April 16, 1839; Bryan to Lamar, May 25, 1839, in C. A. Gulick and Katherine Elliott (eds.), *Lamar Papers*, II, 589; *Brazos Courier* (Brazoria), June 9, 1840.

[77]Austin to Holley, July 25, 1839; September 28, 1839, Henry Austin Papers; Holley to Brand, July 26, 1839, Holley Papers.

But at home both the government and the citizenry faced a discouraging crisis. The Houston *Telegraph and Texas Register* of December 16, 1840, announced that eight counties had "paid no taxes to the republic during the year past." The large number of judgments obtained against debtors indicates that foreclosures were frequent; even men of such prominence as Sam Houston and M. B. Lamar were not always able to pay taxes.[78] The *Galveston Courier,* in a discussion of "our present dubious prospects," warned its readers against extravagance lest there should follow "still greater embarrassments in our monetary affairs."[79]

In the midst of this situation, which improved but slowly during the next five years, Austin naturally was not able to meet all his obligations. Between May 20, 1840, and May 8, 1841, creditors foreclosed on at least five leagues of his best land. In some cases he managed to pay the mortgages by the negotiation of loans, but he was forced to suffer a part of his property to be sold at sheriff's sale.[80] Although the people of Texas were approaching moderate prosperity in 1846, his holdings were still "entangled in mortgages and attachments." But his final will, drawn up in April, 1851, indicated that in spite of a "long period of indescribable misery from the persecution of Creditors for debts," he still possessed over sixty thousand acres of land, not entirely free from the claims of creditors. He had contrived to increase his original grant of nearly fifty thousand acres by about one-fifth, thus leaving a sizable estate to his four surviving children.[81]

Little information is available concerning Austin's last years. It is known that in August, 1844, he made a trip to New Orleans. By December, 1845, he had returned to Texas, and was living in Galveston, where from December, 1847, to February, 1849, he maintained an office "in the cottage opposite to the Lyceum." He died January 23, 1852, after, in the words of his

[78]*The Houstonian* (Houston), August 20, 1840; *Brazos Courier*, October 27, 1840; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, November 18, 1840.

[79]Reprinted in *Texas Sentinel* (Austin), June 13, 1840.

[80]*Brazos Courier*, June 16, 1840; *San Luis Advocate*, June 22, 1841.

[81]Barker, *Readings in Texas History* (Dallas, 1929), 358; Holley to Brand, February 19, 1846, Holley Papers; Copy of Henry Austin's Will, April 26, 1851, Henry Austin Papers.

will, a "long life of incessant enterprise, toil, privation and suffering," and was buried in the Episcopal Cemetery in Galveston.[82]

Various writers have placed Austin in a favorable light. A contemporary, the author of *A Visit to Texas* (1836), considered him "one of the most remarkable men of a remarkable family," adding that "he has shown great enterprise and spirit of research"; John Henry Brown, in his *History of Texas,* pronounced him "a highly intelligent and enterprising man"; and Barker characterized him at the time he came to Texas as "staunch and dependable, ripe in experience, and unsoured by hard knocks and the vain pursuit of fortune in many lands." Only Thomas F. McKinney, quondam political associate of Austin, has given us a different picture. In a political pamphlet, written in his customary acrimonious style and drawn up to controvert the claims of William Bryan and Edward Hall, former Texan agents in New Orleans, McKinney dismissed the evidence given by Austin in favor of his rivals as being nothing more than the statement of "a poor cracked brain citizen."[83]

Henry Austin had many endearing qualities and eccentricities, together with his faults. He was an upright, home-loving man, sympathetic and constant, and invariably possessed of a buoyantly youthful, westward-looking hopefulness. He was given to trenchant, unhesitating expression of his views, a tendency which prevented him from achieving the doubtful advantages of general popularity. In the make-up of his personality there was an element of pride, acquired in a large degree from his maternal ancestry, which blended well with his far-reaching enterprise, derived chiefly from early experience in his father's diverse shipping and business projects. Acting in accordance with his philosophy that "many crosses . . . it would seem are mark'd out for us in our [the Austin] Escutchion," he bore manifold frustrations with resolution. Cheerfulness and tenacity in the face of adversity made him a likable character.

[82]Perry to Guy M. Bryan, August 8, 1844, Austin Papers; Holley to Brand, December 7, 1845; January 28, 1846, Holley Papers; *Galveston Weekly News,* May 5, 1848; February 24, 1849; F. C. Patten to M. A. Hatcher, April 8, 1932; April 15, 1932, Henry Austin Papers.

[83]Fiske (?), *A Visit to Texas,* 172; Brown, *History of Texas* (Austin, 1892), I, 239; Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville, 1928), 285; McKinney, *To All Who May Have Seen and Read the Dying Groans,* etc. (Columbia, 1836), 7.

He went through unusual experiences, made friends in high places, and saw strange lands—China, Babylon and Bagdad, the Missouri frontier, and finally Mexico and Texas. He early gained financial independence, lost it in middle life, but in his later years, secured a large estate to leave to his children. All this was not without struggle, privation, and even disaster. Such was the price he paid for adventure.

Today, in this age of mechanized and routine living, when adventure in thought and action is more consistently and scientifically avoided than contagious disease, Henry Austin is worthy of admiration as an individual who dared leave the grooved, well-marked track followed by ordinary men.

Louisiana State University.

DIARY OF ADOLPHUS STERNE

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XXX

Saturday the 8th very fine day, crossed the River had a mile to ferry, passed over a most dreadfull road to a lake which I ferried, here I found that I could not proceed further on my route on account of the large Creeks which I had to cross, to get to my point of destination, I finally concluded to go up to their heads, and Cross— after a great deal of deep wading, and bogging down in the mud, stopped all night, at a Mr Roberts, on the Springfield road

Sunday March the 9th 1851 beutifull day— left very early and went about 17 miles up the road towards springfield, here I turned in towards the left, and with much difficulty crossed the main Kitchy Creek, and three other of its branches, stopped all night after a hard days travel at one of the most filthy Houses I ever was in in Texas, I shall forbear mentioning the name—

Monday the 10th left early, passed Julian Sanchez, and Lewis Sanchez's Houses, and arrived at the new County seat of Leon County at 1 oclock P. M. attended to business I went for, and left at 2 P. M. to Mr Tom Garner's stopped all night— (a good House)

Tuesday the 11th left after Breakfeast, arrived at the old Kikapos Bluff (Hayley's) on Trinity, got into the ferry-boat at 12 and landed at Hall's Bluff in Houston County, at ½ past four P. M. arrived at Crockett at 8 P. M. stopped at Longs Hotel.

Wednesday the 12th Court in session, saw the People in regard to the Election of a State Senator, find that I have no opponent in this County, and will probably not have any, saw several of my old friends, and got much encouragement— left after dinner and arrived at Murchisons at sun set. s[t]opt—

Thursday the 13th rained all night very hard, Keeps on raining and it is now 12 oclock— left in the rain at 1 P. M. and rode till I was stopped in my further progress by a large Creek, which resembled more a large torrent then a little stream was compelled to stop, at a wedding— rain, a small House, large company— very comfortable of course — slept in a heap of cotton Seed— good Bed.

Friday March 14th Cloudy and warm. left after Breakfeast,

crossed the creek by swimming my Horse, and walking over a log myself, very very bad roads crossed the Nechaz at Cannon's ferry, and arrived at Rusk at night— stopped at the widow Brackens—

Saturday the 15th rained very hard last night— left at day light, Creeks nearly all swimming, crossed the angelina, and had to go by the way of Douglass to avoid swimming the little loco and the creek at Garretts— arrived at home at ½ passed 4 oclock, found all my children with the whooping cough

Sunday the 16th beutifull day, Bishop (methodist) Orseneth Fisher preached in the Court House twice to day, nothing new stirring in Town— wrote to L. F. Ardry in answer

Monday the 17th Saint Patrick's day— and a very fine day it was was— worked in the garden, and Orchard all day mail arrived, Cotton rising— nothing new—

Tuesday the 18th very fine weather worked, and superintended the work in the garden, planted some corn My Son Charles arrived from Town Bluff Tyler County on a Keel Boat, which he brought up in 11 days for P. M. Ford & Co his Employers, he is not in good health— Sold to Harlacher and Suter a lot belonging to P. Gorman of New Orleans as his Agent— for $200— out of which is to be deducted my fees— recording fees Taxes since 1837, and making out Deed to purchasers Mrs Parmalee, Mr Rankin, and Mr Robinson spend the Evening with us

Wednesday March 19th 1851 Very fine Spring day, however the sun went down cloudy, worked in the garden, part of the day, went fishing— not much luck,— received a Letter from A. G. Walker of Dallas brought by a Mr Keen, all the big fuss about the Cuba Expedition has ended as it should have ended— in Smoke— a nolle prosequi has been entered against Gels Lopez, Henderson Quitman and others— thus the Mountain (U. S.) has labored and brought forth a *little bit of a mouse.*

Thursday the 20th very fine day, continue to arrange my gardens— wrote to C. G. Keenan of Huntsville in answer to his letter of 15th inst— wrote a Letter of Introduction of H. L. Rankin to Stephen Crossby, and Milton Swisher of Austin, and one to Trow Ward & John Carrollan of San Antonio— mail arrived from East, no news— Dan Culp returned from the north, brought under his protection from Washington City to Sabine Town, the widow

Kaufman and her childern, Spend the Evening at a Soiree at Madame Bondies's.

Friday the 21st a Warm cloudy day, planted Irish Potatoes, trimming Shade trees, and working in the orchards & gardens *generally* saw general James Smith of Rusk County in Town, he is a candidate to represent his District in the Senate of the State,— Mr James Hill Surveyor of Smith County is in Town, informs me that a lot of mine in Tyler Smith County which cost me about $25 is now worth $150.00 am very glad to hear, that, that part of old Nacogdochez County, formerly (and not long ago) was the *Indian Nation* now contains some 10000 Inhabitants— had a conversation with Doctor J. H. Starr respecting the claim of Gardner Norcom & Co Made an arrangement with him satisfactorily to both of us— received a Letter from Mr Gallagher of New Orleans. very great prospect for rain at Sun down—

Saturday March 22d 1851 We had a very hard rain and Thunderstorm last night but this morning it was clear, and had a beutifull day worked in garden— agreed to go to Leon County again for Judge Taylor, handed in my resignation to the Sons of Temperance— I do not quit this good and noble Institution for the purpose of again to indulge freely in the cup of intemperance or intoxication, but because I am compelled by the rules of the Order to act as it were a kind of Spy on my Brother, and this is the only feathure I dislike in the Order, and whenever this is stricken out (as I hope it will be) I shall join again; and for ever—. Eastern & western mails arrived— received several Papers, and a certificate from the County clerk of Houston County that W. C. Stanley's certificate No 173 for a League & labor was issued by the Board of land Commissioners of Houston County on 4th October 1838, wrote a long Letter to E. E. Lott, to be send by James Hill to morrow

Sunday the 23d very cold, but clear day— went to church (catholic nothing very new Stirring.

Monday the 24th cold, but has not done any damage to vegetation, worked in garden, commenced my new room for my Library went to Lodge to night, a Mr Wheeden was innitiated, had a fine Supper at the Stage House Hotel

Tuesday the 25th warm, cloudy— worked in garden, made ditches eta. agreed to go to Leon County again for Judge Taylor,

My Son Charles has left the Services of Messrs Fords, he will do business hereafter for himself,— perhaps in Douglass, wrote to Mr King the Pianist of Henderson, to come down to arrange the Piano—

Wednesday March 26th 1851 fine day— left home in company with Mr C. Hopfeldt who goes to the Rio Grande, got a Horse from C. S. Taylor on whose business I am going to Leon County to attend the Sale of a tract of land. Stopped at night at Mr Shaw's 28 miles—

Thursday the 27th Cloudy, left early, and stopped at Crockett at night 33 miles, got from the clerk of the county court a certificate that Thos W. Adams got a conditional Headright for 640 acres, said Adams is at Loredo, I send it by Hopfeldt to get the unconditional certificate for Jacob Masters who owns the Headright

Friday the 28th very fine day— left early after breakfeast crossed the Trinity at the old Kikapoo Bluff, and went to Mr Garner's 25 miles—

Saturday the 29th left at 7 oclock A. M. weather warm and cloudy, arrived at Centreville at 10 oclock, went to Leona at which place I found the Tax collector, paid him $9.90 to redeem 1/3 of a league land which had been sold for Taxes, belonging to F. T. Phillipps, which is the land to be sold on next Tuesday— here Mr Hopfeldt left me, he is going towards Austin and I went to the Residence of the widow John Durst.

Sunday the 30th Cloudy— accompanied Mrs Durst, Lewis Durst and his wife, to a Mr Hunts 4 miles below on Boggy creek, went a fishing, spend the day very agreably, returned to Mrs Durst's at dark when it commenced to rain very hard, and the wind blew allmost a tornado

Monday the 31st rain, rain and more rain, cleared up at noon, went to Leona, and returned to Mrs Dursts at dark.

Tuesday April the 1st 1851 Cloudy, but no rain, after Breakfeast, Lewis Durst accompanied me to Centreville saw the Sheriff who informed me that three appraisers had been appointed, who have appraised the land to be sold at $1.50 pr Acre, it not bringing two thirds of its appraised value, it was not sold— and then I levied an other Execution on it in favor of Turner & Woodruff, and returned to Mrs Dursts'

Wednesday the 2d cloudy, and looks like rain, left early in the morning, Crossed the Trinity at Robbin's Ferry and arrived at Crockett near Sun set 45 miles

Thursday the 3d rained very hard ever since 3 oclock this morning, and now 9 A. M. it is still raining cleared up a little after dinner, Started to go on, but there is so much water and is again raining I stopped at Joseph rice's 5 miles

Friday the 4th Clear & Cold— left at 6 oclock A. M. got to the Nechaz at 11 A. M. rising very fast, got over safe found the Angelina out of its Banks and all over the bottom, got a guide to pilot me through, and landed safely at McKnight's at sun down 42 miles. here I found Judge O. M. Roberts, and Judge Taylor both bound for Linnwood where there is a large meeting expected to morrow to devise plans for clearing out the Angelina to said place— Judge Roberts is a Candidate for Congress, and Judge Taylor for the place resigned by Roberts as District Judge— there are now Seven Candidates in the field for the Seat in the United States Congress vacated by the death of the lamented David S. Kaufman

Saturday April 5th 1851 rained hard last night, but has cleared up fine but Cold this morning— this is the 49th anniversary of my birth day, (confound it I am getting old) the water in the Swamp rose so much last night that Judge Taylor declined going over— Roberts went piloted by Conde Raguet, and Taylor went on home with me— stopped at Douglass till after dinner saw the Sovereing People here, and received much encouragement in my canvas for a seat in the State Senate, have no opponent as yet— left after dinner and arrived at home at 5 P. M. found my family all well— found my new room (Library) enclosed but not finished inside found a Letter from Reddin Andrews of Lagrange who wants me to inquire about a man by the name of Juan Tabar if he had ever lived here— also a private Letter from S. Crossby of Austin also a Letter and accompanying documents from Gel land office, the letter is in answer to mine dated 15 february, and was one month a coming from Austin

Sunday the 6th Cold but fine weather, answered the Letter of Reddin Andrews wrote also to Capt Crossby acknowledging receipt of his Letter private, and Official eta wrote to Doctor Jowers about a supposed misunderstanding between us, want him to send me an explanation, cloudy and warm this Evening.

Monday the 7th rained hard last night accompanied by a Thunder storm clear this morning, wrote to Wm R. Gallagher, Geor[g]e Dirmeyer, and Bernard Cohen of New Orleans, to introduce my Son Charles who will leave here on Wednesday next for that city to try and get into some business he can learn more there then in a country Store and will know a little more of the world then he can at Town bluff on the nechaz— tried to get a Carpenter but failed, so I turned in and Sealed my Library myself to day

Tuesday April 8th 1851 very cold clear morning— *nearly* frost— at work on my Library— wrote to Patrick Gorman of New Orleans and send him $100 by my Son Charles, on account of the lot I sold for him to Harlacher and Suter, settled up with Charles Chevallier, and for the first time in ten years am intierly out of that man's debt and if God lets me live shall remain so for ever— settled with P. N. Ford & Co gave my note for $97.00 payable in 7 months, and this is about the last debt I have to settle in Texas— I am now less in debt *in the State* then I have been for the last 12 years, and if I live two years more expect to be clear of debt intierly

Wednesday the 9th very cold this morning but no frost, a beutifull day— this morning my Son Charles Started in the Stage for New Orleans, papered my Library— received a lot of plank from Mr C. Hotchkiss, wrote a letter to Mr C. Hotchkiss, wrote a letter to Mr Jessy Duren of Houston County respecting the claims of the Boden Family— Col Johnson spend the Evening with, [us] he is M. T. Johnson the Candidate for Governor he was formerly a resident of Shelby County, has allways been in the Service of his Country, he is a perfect gentleman, and as brave as a real Texean may Success attend him— we have now two Candidates in the field for Representative of Angelina and Nacogdochez, Mr Pollock a young Lawyer, of this place and Squire Ambrose Eubank of Melrose, no one is running for the County yet exept Bill Hardeman, have agreed to go up to Tyler on Friday next to convey Mr Chaubert, of New Orleans, to that place, purely out of accommodation to Mr C. that I go— having to put one of my Horses in a Stage with an other Horse, in order to get along

Thursday the 10th April 1851 Cold morning, warm, & Cloudy in the Evening, still at work on my Library, and will have to leave again before I complete it, having made an arrangement with a Mr

Chabert of New Orleans to go up to Tyler with him, Judge Scurry is in Town he is an old aquaintance and friend of mine he is canvassing the Country for a Seat in the House of Representatives of the U. S. he stands a good chance of being elected—. paid Mr Müller the carpenter $12 for work done to my new room

Friday the 11th rained since Midnight, and is cloudy & raining now 9 a. m. started at 10, in company with Wm. F. Heder & Mr Chabert in the Stage & R. Hotchkiss on Horseback,— roads very bad— stopped all night at Mr Branch's 20 miles—

Saturday the 12th rained very hard all night till 9 this morning, every Creek swimming, started at 10 went a circuitous route to avoid Swimming Creeks, after a very hard days labor arrived at Henderson at sun set 26 miles

Sunday the 13th very fair day, left after breakfeast, took a circuitous route again to avoid Swimming at Mr McKean's at Sun Set 27 mile—

Monday the 14th beutifull day— waters falling very fast, left very early, and got to Tyler at 10 A. M.— Supreme Court in Session, and everything has a thriving appearance— but a Town is not going to grow *very large* because the Session of the Supreme Court is held in it once a year, sold two lots for $160.00 which I consider a good Sale, for it is nothing but a Country village at best, and I think lots are higher now, then they will be in a year hence— got a miserable dinner and left the place— returned by the main Henderson Road to a Mr Stephenson's 12 miles,

Tuesday 15th left at day light, stopped at Henderson to get a Horse shod, and came out 5 miles to a Mr Morriss's having travelled to day 30 mi.

Wednesday April 16th 1851 very cold morning, but a splendid day— left at day light and arrived at home before Sun Set having made 37 miles— found all well— found a letter from Jas. H. Durst written in New Orleans and brought by Mr Remley, one do pr H. L. Rankin from my old friend Carrollan & Ward of San Antonio on private Business— one do from Gel Land office advising me that Wm C. Stanley's certificate for a League & Labor of land has never been returned to the Gel Land office

Thursday the 17th very fine day— wrote a Letter to Editor of Red land Herald inclosing an advertisement for Wm. C. Stanley's Headright certificate, Eastern & western mails— received *a lot of* news-

papers among them the New Orleans Weekly Delta for which I subscribed for a year, received a letter from Yoacum & McCriarre of Huntsville advising me about 640 acres of land of mine amongst A. Macdonalds papers is the Patent for the same, received a letter from M. B. Erwin of Austin—

Friday the 18th good Friday— fine weather till towards noon when it clouded up and looked like it was going to rain very hard but the Storm passed over— every thing looks in its *holyday clothes* vegetation flourishing, a fine prospect of plenty fruit, and without an accident we will have a fine year for every thing, for crops of all discriptions look well and flourishing— wrote a Letter to Messrs Yoakum & McCriarre of Huntsville telling them how McDonald came in possession of the Patent, which is mine I have retained a copy of the Letter, wrote to gel land office for a certified copy of Francisco Acosta's Headright 640 acres which is the patent in possession of Messrs Yoakum & McCriarre wrote to Charles G. Kennan in answer to his letter of the 5th inst Erwin's Letter received yesterday needs no answer, send an order to Grand Ecore pr Thos Ford to get a load of groceries expected to be there send by my Son Charles from New Orleans, he is to receive 2½¢ pr lb Delivered here, and charge if he finds no goods there

Saturday April 19th 1851 This was a real Summer day, the heat was as intense at 5 P. M. as it is in June, wrote to my son Charles, and to James S. Cartwright of Houston county this last is an Electioneering letter.

Sunday the 20th Rain last night, fine weather to day, looks a litle like rain towards Sun Set— this being Easter Sunday passed the day, in arranging and *fixing* my Library all my Books are now *concentrated in* the Library in stead of being in every room & Corner of the house

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement. By Rupert Norval Richardson. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1933. Pp. 424. Illustrations. $6.00.)

The title of this book succinctly states the significant historical position of the Comanche, a *barrier to South Plains settlement,* next in importance to the elemental severity of the land itself. The treatment critically states, for the first time, the attitude of the Indian toward the encroachments of a more numerous and technically trained, if no bolder or prouder, people.

Perennial dread of the Comanches left a deep imprint upon the consciousness of the border; so deep, in fact, that perhaps no subject of frontier life and history has attracted such a battalion of pioneer writers or has been so prolific of reminiscence. The stark details of several generations of warfare have furnished the bloody theme, rather than any sentiment for untamed nature or the rights of an unconquered race. Of necessity such a treatment as this has been reserved for one technically trained; one who, working under the manifest handicap of records kept almost altogether by his own race, could, nevertheless, interpret the point of view and evaluate the claims of the aboriginal people. With no more suggestion of being maudlin toward the Indian than apologetic for the white, Richardson has reconstructed the story of their relationship from the coming of the Spaniards to the establishment of the Territorial Reserves. His treatment is dignified and sincere, and the Comanche rides from its pages as a human, historical character of no mean proportions.

Beginning with the Comanche's known origins and cultural complexes, the author establishes him in his Plains environment, sketches in his broader range, mounts him on a horse, and throws him into contact with the Spaniard on the southwestern periphery. In New Mexico Governor Anza's policy strengthened the tribal organization, and in Texas De Mézières worked in the interests of friendly relations. With independence Texas attacked the problem of frontier defense, though the diverse views represented by Presidents Houston and Lamar precluded a settled policy, and annexation neither relieved the Indians of territorial encroachments nor the Texans of reprisals.

The blazing of trans-Plains trails, the diminishing buffalo supply and the resultant concentration of many tribes on smaller ranges accompanied a gradual breakdown of tribal authority, and contributed to growing confusion that neither successive federal treaties nor uncertain annuities could control. Feeble efforts at curbing Comanche raids into Mexico: the more whole-hearted yet futile attempt at reservation settlement in Texas; bi-partisan efforts to maintain peace during the Civil War; other treaties re-defining Comanche rights and prescribing narrower boundaries, after; the Quaker policy of moral suasion; and its abandonment for more rigid discipline on, and the use of lead and powder off, the reserve; these topics complete, in broadest outline, the historic saga of the wild Comanche.

Dr. Richardson has carefully sifted the voluminous partisan sources and has contributed to the historical field, not another tedious catalogue of many battles, but a treatise on the relationship of two strong races through a hundred and fifty years. And though, properly, the author emphasizes the important diplomatic incidents rather than those of war, the story is full of heroism for both red and white. Conservative and comprehensive, it carries the pathos of the downfall of a simple, chaste, proud and powerful people. And even those who yet hear first-hand stories of an awful savage vengeance may be humbled by reading that the Comanches loved this soil with a wild yet wholesome zest unexcelled by the men who took it from them.

"You said that you wanted to put us upon a reservation [Chief Ten Bears rejoined in council], to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath . . . I lived like my fathers before me and like them I lived happily . . . So why do you ask us to leave the rivers and the sun and the wind, and live in houses . . . The white man has the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die."

That is nobler sentiment and finer appreciation of the cost of cultural ideals than is manifested by the multitude of writers who now blithely herald the complete downfall of individualism.

J. Evetts Haley.

Wah-Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road. By John Joseph Mathews. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 359.)

The Osages found it difficult to adjust their simple culture to the complex and mechanical civilization forced upon them during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To some of their wise old leaders it seemed that they were rejecting the best of their own institutions and accepting the worst that the white men had to offer. One chief stated it thus: "They do not know what they want, my people. My mind is troubled about this thing. Some young men try to talk like white man; they try to act like white man. But they talk like white man who talks like crow, and they act like white man who acts bad, I believe."

Wah-Kon-Tah, which may be translated the Great Mysteries, is associated with the career of the Osage agent Major Laban J. Miles, a courageous and sympathetic Quaker whose services to his Indian wards suggests that the peace policy or Quaker policy inaugurated by President Grant was not altogether a failure. The book is not a biography, neither is it a history of the Osages. On the contrary, it is a series of tableaus, emphasizing in all cases the Indian rather than his Caucasian contemporaries. The scenes are varied. On one page appears the account of Paw Hunka, grieving with all his heart and soul for his dead wife, and approached by a rude trader to secure his "mark" which constituted the approval of the trader's bill for the funeral expenses. At such a time the Indian would pay very little attention to the form or amount of the bill. "Many of the white men . . . said that this was very smart, but the Indian believed it to be sacrilegious." There is the story of Wah' Ti An Kah, the bold warrior who commanded the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to be seated and hear the "talk" of the Osages—and the Commissioner obeyed. Indian humor, often quite subtle, is illustrated in the account of Big Chief who told the agent, after the latter had eaten a hearty meal in his lodge, that the beef had been stolen.

Thus are the various moods of the Osages portrayed and the reader finds himself fascinated with the changing scene. The writer has succeeded in eliminating much of that maudlin sentiment that mars so many books written by Indian apologists. Although there are many indictments of the "Amer-Europeans"

because of their failure to understand the red man and protect him from the destructive forces of their own civilization, the author has exercised a great deal of restraint. There are very few passages that suggest "Lo the poor Indian," or Mrs. Jackson's *Century of Dishonor*. On completing the book one feels that he has had a glimpse into the innermost mind of the Indian and has seen there neither a model of human excellence nor a bloodthirsty demon. The writer is as ready to tell of the cruel murder of a Wichita Indian by a band of Osages, fresh from the mourning dance, as to relate that the tribal leaders decreed compulsory education for all children.

Historians probably will regret that Mr. Mathews did not build up a more substantial historical background for his forceful description of Osage life and thought. Much may be said, however, in favor of his economy of space. Others can write history, but only one reared among Indians can write such a book as Wah'Kon-Tah. The author's style is unusually forceful and beautiful.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Selected and arranged by William R. Manning, Ph. D., Division of Latin American Affairs, Department of State. Volume I, Argentina, Documents 1-387; Volume II, Bolivia, Documents 388-453, and Brazil, Documents 454-722. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1932. Volume I, pp. xxxvi, 789, $5.00; Volume II, pp. xxvi, 544, $5.00.)

These two volumes, which are the first of probably nine or possibly ten to come, constitute a sequel to the three-volume publication entitled *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations* which was edited by Dr. Manning and published in 1925 under the same auspices. That compilation covered the period from 1810 to 1830, and dealt almost exclusively with the subject of independence, and closely related matters. The present series, initiated by the two volumes under review, covers the period from January, 1931, to December, 1860. It "is designed to include all of the documents in the Department of State which have a bearing upon the international relations of the Latin American nations" with the excep-

tion of documents dealing with minutiae of more or less minor topics.

In addition to the correspondence with the Latin American nations there is included in the compilation correspondence with those European countries which were most actively interested in Latin American matters. "No documents have been omitted because of a confidential or indiscreet character or because, if contemporaneously published, they would possibly have given offense or damaged" reputations. "Not infrequently the subject of an omitted portion has been indicated in a footnote [Preface, pp. ix-x] . . ." The value of such a compilation of documentary materials to the student of the diplomatic history of the western hemisphere is obvious.

Of the two volumes of documents under review, Volume I, which contains *Instructions* from the Department of State to its representative in Argentina; *Notes* to the Argentine representative in Washington; *Despatches* from the United States representative in Argentina; and *Notes* from Argentina's representative in Washington will be the one most cordially welcomed by students. These documents relate to a period in Argentine history that is rich in important internal and international developments. During most of the years covered by the documents in Volume I the tyrant Rosas dominated the country as Governor of Buenos Aires Province and, in addition, exercised the powers of Foreign Minister of each of the other provinces which after his downfall were to form the Argentine Nation. Important subjects dealt with by the documents in Volume I include: the Falkland Islands controversy; the blockade of the Rio de la Plata by France and later by France and England during the latter years of the Rosas régime; the rivalries and disputes of Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil with reference to the Rio de la Plata region; and the political questions arising from the interference of Rosas in Uruguay and, later, from the participation of the dominant Uruguayan faction in the overthrow of Rosas in 1852.

The official correspondence of the United States and Bolivia that is published in Volume II contains some interesting observations on internal conditions but little that is of noteworthy international importance. The published documents that relate to United States-Brazilian relations are important but do not now fill the

need they otherwise would have filled in view of the recent scholarly study by Dr. L. F. Hill: *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil* (reviewed in the July, 1933, number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* pp. 69-70). For part of that study Dr. Hill used many original documents that are published for the first time in the second volume that is under review. As revealed by Dr. Hill's monograph, the official correspondence between the United States and Brazil, and, in addition, that of the United States with Argentina and Bolivia, creates an unfavorable opinion with reference to the diplomats of the United States in those countries during the period covered by the correspondence.

A list of documents at the beginning of each volume and a most comprehensive index for each volume are most useful. Numerous critical and informative footnotes by Dr. Manning greatly enhance the value of compilation.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

New Mexico History and Civics. By Lansing B. Bloom and Thomas C. Donnelly. (Albuquerque, N. M.: The University Press, 1933. Pp. xvi, 539. Illustrated. $2.50.)

Despite the fact that this book was prepared for use as a text in the secondary schools of New Mexico, it is worthy of consideration as a serious study of the history and the governmental organization of the state. Written in simple, straightforward language and in a pleasing style, it should appeal to the student of high school age. In the section on civics (pp. 253-517), Professor Donnelly has succeeded in presenting a clear picture of the organization and functioning of the government of the state in such a way that the student should gain a satisfactory conception of the problems which he must face as a future citizen and should become a more intelligent citizen as a result of having studied this portion of the work.

The section on history (pp. 1-250), prepared by Professor Bloom, represents a departure from the standard form of textbooks in state history in that individuals and events are subordinated to broad movements. Beginning with Spain, itself, the narrative carries the reader rapidly through the transplanting of Spanish civilization in the New World and the northward

movement from Mexico City, pausing long enough to describe the native civilization which the explorers found in "New Mexico." Here, perhaps, the reader who is not familiar with the tree ring method of determining chronology will be startled to find the year 861 A. D. mentioned casually as an established date in New Mexican history. Incidentally, such readers are entitled to a reference, which the author does not give, to *The National Geographic Magazine,* December, 1929, where this method is described.

The period from Coronado to the end of Spanish rule is covered in four chapters at an average rate of seventy-five years to the chapter; the Mexican period receives a chapter; one chapter is devoted to "The Blending of Two Frontiers" from Zebulon Pike to the attainment of statehood—104 years; and the final chapter deals with the period of statehood. Such treatment would seem to justify the author's statement in the preface that "The history of our state is presented as an *interpretation* rather than as a complete and detailed *narrative.*" It thus becomes an important contribution toward a synthesis of the historical development of the state, in which a sense of continuity is conveyed by means of expansive organization combined with skillful generalization. There is a possibility, however, that too much knowledge of facts is taken for granted, and that the average high school student will become somewhat bewildered because of the lack of definite information.

The explanation in the preface that "space and emphasis are given to aspects of our history which have been largely overlooked or misunderstood by earlier writers," opens the way for a consideration of the historical section from the point of view of sound scholarship. A more careful analysis of these chapters seems to disclose the fact that in adhering to such a purpose the author has destroyed to some extent the impression of historical continuity which is promised in the plan of organization. Using his chapter entitled "The Blending of Two Frontiers (1807-1911)" as an illustration, we find that instead of a connected survey of the process by which New Mexico was gradually transformed from a Mexican frontier to an Anglo-American frontier, we have a group of more or less unconnected units dealing with such topics as trade, Indian problems, land and cattle, territorial

politics, schools and churches, population, and revenue. All these are of course part of the picture, but they have not yet been put together in the proper relationship.

One is somewhat surprised, also, to find that in this chapter of thirty-six pages on a period of 104 years, approximately one-sixth of the space is devoted to the Texan activities of 1841 and 1843 in their relation to New Mexico. It soon becomes apparent, however, that this is one of those aspects which have been "misunderstood by earlier writers"; indeed the direct charge is made that historians have given "a Texan interpretation to the facts" (p. 206). In attempting to counteract this "Texan interpretation," the author characterizes the Snively expedition of 1843 as "just plain highway robbers with some color of authority from Texas," thus ignoring the established fact that Snively was operating under specific instructions from the Texan government to put a stop to contraband trade which was being carried on across Texan territory. Likewise, in placing Snively and McDaniel in the same category (p. 207), he overlooks the fact that McDaniel was not commissioned by the Texan government, but was operating with a band of outlaws from the United States. And, finally, the United States is accused of having "compounded a felony" when it paid Texas for the area which was relinquished in the boundary settlement of 1850. Obviously, this is neither a Texan nor an objective interpretation of the facts, but must be described as a New Mexican interpretation, in which the author has laid himself open to the same criticism that he has directed against others.

In contrast to such errors of interpretation, it should be said that errors of fact are exceedingly scarce, although *Niles' Register* is described as "a trade publication of Missouri" (p. 204). The bibliographies indicate a wide acquaintance with the literature of New Mexican history. Portraits of not less than seventy-five men, ranging from Spanish viceroys to recent commissioners of education, compensate for the lack of attention to individuals in the text. In addition to the eleven maps which have been reproduced here, a general reference map of the state would have been extremely helpful. The index is adequate. The general appearance of the book is decidedly a credit to a new press. And, on the whole, in so far as the book succeeds in stimulating among

students a healthful interest in the history and government of the state, it will prove to have been very much worth doing.

Vanderbilt University. WILLIAM C. BINKLEY.

Dictionary of American Biography. Under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Edited by Dumas Malone. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. Volume XII, Pp. x, 647. Price, $12.50.)

Volume XII of the *Dictionary of American Biography* contains nearly seven hundred sketches, extending alphabetically from Edwin McCrady to John Millington. In accordance with the plan of the work, all classes and professions are included in the scope of the volume—statesmen, soldiers, writers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, college professors, actors, reformers. The major characters reviewed in the present volume are James Madison, by Julius W. Pratt, and John Marshall, by E. S. Corwin. Texan figures included in the volume are: Ben McCulloch, Hugh McLeod, S. B. Maxey, M. B. Menard, and Sydney E. Mezes, late President of the University of Texas. The editorial standard is unimpeachable and the writing is excellent. Each succeeding volume increases the value of the *Dictionary* to every class of writer, student, research worker, and teacher.

The preparation of the work is subsidized by Mr. Adolph S. Ochs and the New York Times Company, but its editorial direction is the independent responsibility of the American Council of Learned Societies. It is as free from personal and sectional bias as it is humanly possible for such an undertaking to be.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

"To Markie," the Letters of Robert E. Lee to Martha Custis Williams. From the originals in the Huntington Library. Edited by Avery Craven. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. vii, 91. Price, $1.50.)

These letters were compiled and prepared for publication by Professor Avery Craven of the University of Chicago, with an introduction and adequate explanatory notes. The Publisher's Note summarizes and characterizes the letters so accurately and

so appropriately that it is reproduced here in full: "These forty letters, written between September, 1844, and August, 1870, cover the period when Lee was Superintendent of West Point, on duty in Baltimore, Jefferson Barracks, and Texas, the Mexican campaigns, and the war between the states. The letters, which are unusually intimate in character, reveal more of the human qualities in Lee than any other group now in print. They abound in good humor and reveal his personal attitudes toward secession, the outcome of the war, and the problems of reconstruction. They give glimpses both of the soldier and of the citizen that aid much to a better understanding of the inner man."

A brief quotation from this letter, written from Fort Mason, Texas, January 22, 1861, well illustrates the intimacy with which he wrote to his cousin and the value of the letters as a mirror of the man: "I only see that a fearful calamity is upon us; and fear that the country will have to pass through for its sins a fiery ordeal. I am unable to realize that our people will destroy a government inaugurated by the blood and wisdom of our patriot fathers, that has given us peace and prosperity at home, power and security abroad, and under which we have acquired a colossal strength unequal in the history of mankind. I wish to live under no other government, and there is no sacrifice I am not ready to make for the preservation of the Union save that of honor. If a disruption takes place, I shall go back in sorrow to my people and share the misery of my native state, and save in her defense there will be one soldier less in the world than now. . . . I shall hope that the wisdom and patriotism of the nation will yet save it."

E. C. B.

The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824. By Walter Brownlon Posey. (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Weatherford Printing Company. Pp. xiii, 151. Price, $1.50.)

This is a scholarly contribution to the cultural history of its section in the early nineteenth century, though the rather impressive bibliography shows a surprising absence of manuscript items and contemporary newspapers. Significant chapter titles are: Methodism Crosses the Alleghenies, 1783-1799; The Period

of the Camp Meeting, 1800-1811; The Circuit Rider among Frontier Folk; Educational Efforts and Achievement; Missionary Efforts among the Indians; the Negro and the Methodist Church; Efforts for a Temperate Social Order.

E. C. B.

Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. By Dorothy H. Popenoe. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv, 74. $1.50.)

Charming both in text and format, and illustrated from drawings by the author, this little book was prepared for visitors to Antigua Guatemala who have not read the early chronicles. The first two chapters, "The Conquest" and "Almolonga," constitute an authentic summary of the narrative of events, centering chiefly around the exploits of Alvarado, which preceded the founding of the third capital. Chapter III "Panchoy and the Golden Era," comprising more than one-half of the text, is almost entirely descriptive of Antigua Guatemala—its numerous ruined churches, monasteries, public buildings, streets, and parks. Several biographical sketches are also included—notably those of the incomparable warrior-chronicler, Bernal Díaz del Castillo and the militant "Defender of the Indians," Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. Chapter IV, "Dies Irae, Dies Illa," in three pages, and based chiefly on a contemporary account, tells of the final destruction of the third capital and of the removal to its present site. The volume was published posthumously and in the Introduction by Thomas Barbour is included a brief biographical sketch of and a personal tribute to the very remarkable author.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

The Story of Early Clayton, New Mexico. By Albert W. Thompson. (Clayton: *The News,* 1933. Pp. 96. $.50.)

Albert W. Thompson, early settler of northeastern New Mexico, cowboy, homesteader, postmaster, and, finally, substantial business man in the region he helped pioneer, has told the early history of his land as he remembered it, supplemented somewhat by the memories of others and a consultation of documentary sources.

He traces, with perspective and pleasing style, the era of the open ranges, the coming of railroads, founding of towns, growth of trade, social diversions, and the formation of religious patterns. By way of conclusion he tells the life story of "Black Jack" Ketchem, train robber and Western outlaw.

The brochure is rich in biographical detail, social incident, and interesting anecdote. The chapters were first published in *The Clayton News,* and, admittedly "brief and fragmentary," the author's prediction that later chroniclers will continue the story "in much abler manner" is modest but doubtful. Certainly here is a "local item" of interest and intrinsic worth.

J. Evetts Haley.

The Death of Billy the Kid. By John W. Poe. (New York: Houghton-Mifflin and Company, 1933. Pp. xlviii, 60. Illustrations. $1.50.)

When Edmund Seymour, President of the American Bison Society, was safely questing for Western history from his desk in New York City in 1917, Colonel Charles Goodnight referred him to John W. Poe, of Roswell, New Mexico, for the "true story" of the killing of Billy the Kid. Since Seymour was quoting "Buffalo" Jones on the subject, Goodnight used the adjective advisedly.

Finally, at the cowman's insistence, Poe prepared his simple, vivid story of the killing and sent it to Seymour. He told how, as deputy United States Marshal at Mobeetie, he had been employed by the organized Panhandle cowmen, and sent to New Mexico to help kill or capture "the Kid," and he gave the unembellished details of the hazardous venture. By his cool and calculating work, Poe was largely responsible for William Bonney's death, though Pat Garrett had the honor of shooting him.

The account was circulated, E. A. Brinninstool published it in brochure, and now, with an historical introduction by Major Maurice Garland Fulton, it attractively appears in circulation again. As a conservative historical chronicle, and as an intriguing recital of frontier adventure, it far exceeds Garrett's own *Life of Billy the Kid,* recently annotated for re-publication by Fulton.

J. E. H.

The Prisoners of Perote. By William Preston Stapp. (La Grange: *LaGrange Journal*, 1933. Pp. 108. $1.00.)

The story of the valiant yet futile march of the Texans on Mier in the winter of 1842, their capitulation while apparently on the verge of victory, their enforced march toward the castle of Perote, their escape and recapture, their drawing of the black beans and decimation, and the final break of those spirited warriors cannot fail to interest those who delight in tales of "derring do."

The most generous judgments are rarely expected from the vanquished, and hence the critics should not be surprised to find the original chroniclers of the Texian expedition vilifying the Mexican national character of abuses, which, with the exception of the black bean incident, are somewhat common to prisoners of war. This account by Stapp, published in 1845 and now extremely rare in original print, may lack the fervor of General Green's attack on Houston, but it maintains a parity in the manner of dealing with the Mexicans.

It was published serially in the *LaGrange Journal* in 1887 and 1888, and is now reissued in pamphlet form. Mr. B. F. Harigel, editor of that paper, published it concurrently with the reinterment of the remains of Dawson's men in an appropriate sepulture on Monument Bluff, above the town of LaGrange.

J. E. H.

NEWS NOTES

Two recent Texas publications in the field of genealogy should be recorded. Mrs. Maud Biard Smith, of Biardstown, Texas, has, in a book of eighty-two pages, given the ramifications of *The Biard Family* from early branches in Scotland to its lines in Texas. For the historian the most interesting portion of her book is that dealing with incidents befalling the first of the Biards to come to northeast Texas. According to her records the family came to Lamar County in 1846, and its blood may still be traced in the life of that region. The book was issued by the Pearless Printing Company, Paris, Texas, 1929.

A more extensive work is that by Selma Metzenthin Raunick and Margaret Schade, entitled *The Kothmanns of Texas, 1845-*

1931, a book of 164 pages, with illustrations. Beginning with Heinrich Conrad Kothmann, "founder of the Kothmann family in Texas," the compilers broadly trace the career of the family along the lines of the history of the German colonists at Fredericksburg. The book is more than a catalogue of names and dates. Ten chapters of a hundred pages give brief biographies of early and prominent members, with details of Civil War-time cotton and cattle trade with Mexico, post-war trailing of cattle to Louisiana, Kansas and New Mexico, and other incidents that distinguished the uneven tenor of border life. Preparation of the volume is due primarily to the active interest of Elgin O. Kothmann in the traditions of the past. An unusual illustration is a conception in modern heraldry, symbolical of the frontier nativity, ideals and "principal occupation of the Kothmann family . . . stock-raising."

The Perote Prisoners is the title given the Trueheart diary, annotated by Frederick C. Chabot, announced for publication by The Naylor Company, San Antonio.

A brochure of thirty-five pages, the *Autobiography of S. W. Miller* of Frisco, Texas, notes the outstanding incidents of a pioneer minister's life and work. It is published by the author and sells for $.50.

The first meeting of the Yanaguana Society was held at San Antonio, October 18, 1933. This organization for the promotion of historical research and the preservation of pioneer memorials, "proposes to subsidize the publication of manuscripts relating to the early history of San Antonio."

J. E. H.